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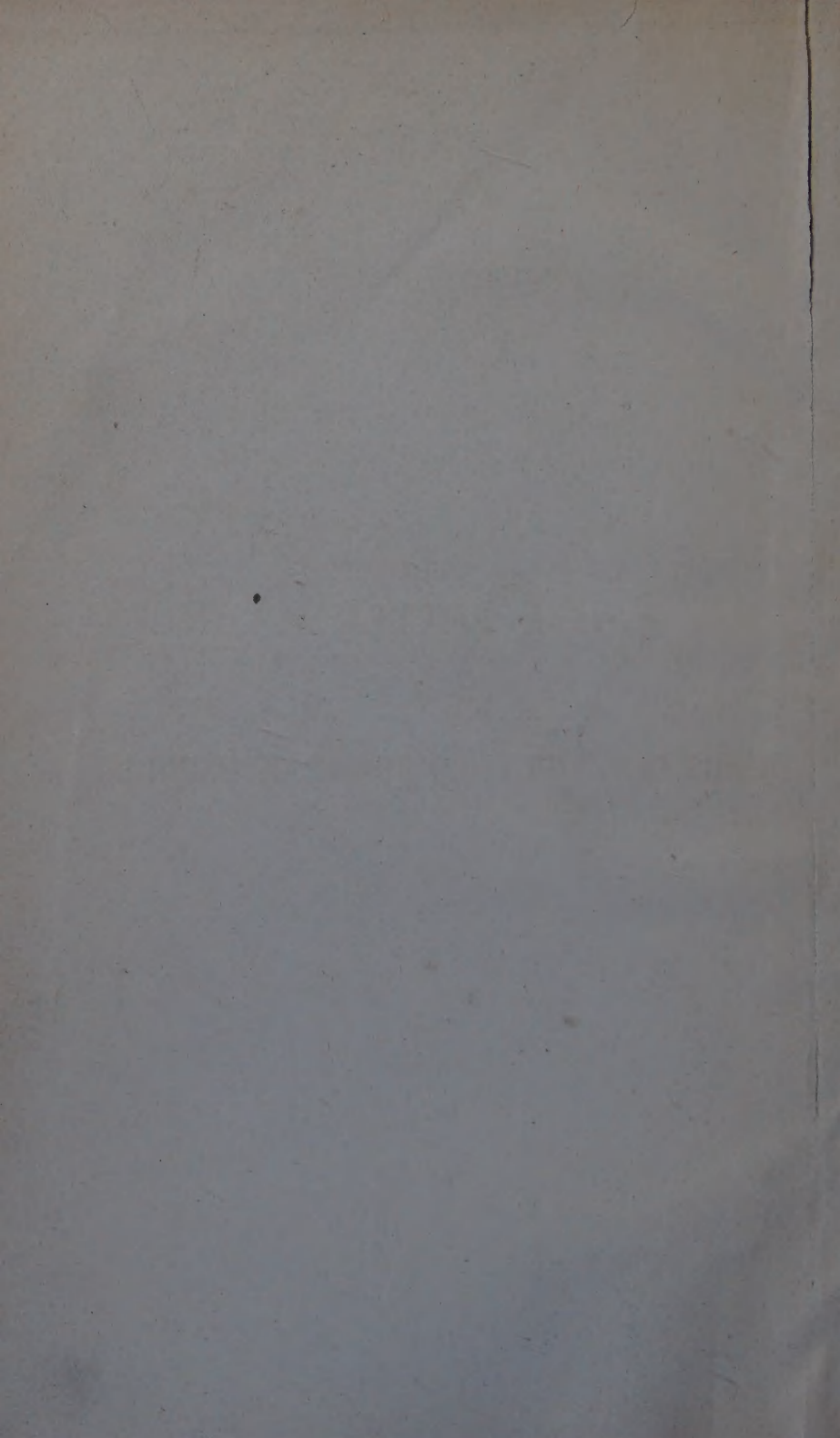
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*Inserted*

A LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD.

The article animadverted upon was by A. P. Stanley, the biographer of Dr Arnold of Rugby, Chaplain since to the Prince of Wales, & Dean of Westminster.

Russell is a man of learning, the biographer of Thomas Fuller, the Church Historian (1844) & of Bishop Andrewes (1860): himself, a warm admirer of the scholarly Bp. Kaye, who held the See of Lincoln, & wrote on Tertullian, Justin Martyr &c. In this letter, Russell alludes to Kaye, at page 98 note as "the most learned theologian of his age": as, in his life of Bp. Andrewes he calls Kaye, at page 87 "the most learned & impartial student of the Father whom the present century has seen."

Russell at page 61 quotes Henry James Rose, as denominating Stanley's exculpatory Review Article in behalf of the authors of the "Epays & Reviews," as "so feeble a performance."

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# A LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF OXFORD,

UPON

## THE DEFENCE

OF THE

### "ESSAYS AND REVIEWS"

*IN THE APRIL NUMBER OF THE "EDINBURGH REVIEW," 1861,*

BY THE

REV. ARTHUR TOZER RUSSELL, B.C.L.,

OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

VICAR OF WHADDON, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

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# A LETTER,

&c.

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## I.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have with grateful alacrity availed myself of your permission, so readily granted, to put the ensuing observations in the form of a Letter addressed to yourself. You have on various occasions unhesitatingly appeared before the university of Oxford, in your pastoral character, in behalf of those truths which are the greatest treasure of our Church and nation. Although not a member of that university it has ever been dear to my heart. It has been my delight to trace its history in the spirit of the antiquary, and with an unbounded admiration of its architectural preeminence.<sup>1</sup> Not a few of the most interesting associations of my life are intimately connected with it. I have taken up my pen in some measure from feelings of a personal nature, as numbering amongst my friends more than one invaluable member and ornament of the university who has been, I cannot but feel, most unjustly attacked in the review that appeared in the April number of the *Edinburgh* in 1861, headed *Essays and Reviews*.

I will leave it to others to trace the origin of that spirit of half-concealed infidelity which characterizes the *Essays and Reviews*. I cannot for a moment doubt that had Dr. Arnold been amongst us now, he would have indignantly repudiated all association with the writers of that volume. His honest spirit would have shrank with horror from the ideology of Mr. Wilson, and the superficially disguised hostility of some other of these writers, to the great doctrines of Christianity. He would not have demeaned himself to become their advocate. Whatsoever were his defects, disingenuousness he abhorred. He never put forth his hand in the dark against the altar at which he served. Whilst he left on record some opinions which were too hastily formed and which cannot be vindicated, I cannot but think, with my excellent friend Dr. Wordsworth, that had his life been

<sup>1</sup> The greater part of Mr. Slatter's and my valued friend Mr. Buckler, sen., new edition of the *Oxford University and City Guide* was the joint labour of myself the architect.

spared he would probably have regretted and retracted them.<sup>1</sup> The essential truths of Christianity, deserted and misrepresented by Professor Jowett and others, Dr. Arnold valued above life itself. The love of Christ as his Saviour was the ground of his spiritual life. Motives were with him of the essence of Christianity. He would not have approved of that false liberality, which, as in the Sermons of Dr. Stanley, scorns the idea of such a sin as schism, and would level all churches and sects on the allegation that it avails nothing in Christ to what church or sect we belong. Whilst he was not ashamed to recognise amongst those who truly loved Christ some who were not fellow-worshippers in the same communion with himself, he did not shrink from the assertion that the growth of Dissent was an evil and a great practical evil.<sup>2</sup> The name of Christian he did not accord to the denier of his Lord. Nay, those who, with Dr. Stanley, cast aside the relation of the only Son to us as a Saviour, excepting as our moral deliverer, by his teaching, Dr. Arnold characterizes as altogether ignorant who the Son of God is. "Now first I believe," he says in his seventeenth Sermon, "that there are many who, in a very strict sense, may be said not to know who the Son of God is. They call him their Saviour, but if they are asked what he has done for them, they would say that he has taught them their duty, and told them that if they did well, they should go to heaven hereafter. Thus they consider him in fact as a great prophet, but are never led to regard him with that faith and love and adoration which his character as revealed in the Scriptures demands. I am not speaking of those who avow their disbelief in his divinity; but of those, and I believe they are many, who receiving all the doctrines of our creed without scruple, and confessing, when questioned concerning it, that Jesus Christ is God and man, do yet habitually lose sight of his office of Saviour and Mediator, and regard him only as a teacher."<sup>3</sup>

This admirable passage brings to my mind those noble words of Professor Mansel in the eighth of his *Bampton Lectures*, which for power and eloquence have perhaps never been surpassed: "Our right to criticize at all depends upon this one question: *What think ye of Christ? Whose Son is he?*"<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Replies to Essays and Reviews*, p. 441. Oxford, Parker, 1862.

<sup>2</sup> "Had it ever been my lot to be the regular minister of a parish, where, in spite of my sincere and active endeavours to benefit the souls committed to my care, *dissent from the Church was a growing evil*; where ignorant and coarse-minded teachers, to gratify their own vanity or sectarian spirit, were continually decrying the ordinances of the Church, and tempting the people to follow them by

an exaggerated representation of the truths of the gospel, even while they did not in substance pervert them, or did I imagine that this present volume were likely to be read principally or generally by Dissenters; then assuredly the seventh sermon would neither have been preached or published in its present form."—*Preface to the Second Edition of Sermons*, pp. xi. xii. Lond. 1830.

<sup>3</sup> *Sermons*, 1830. pp. 219, 220.

<sup>4</sup> Matt. 22. 42.

What is it that constitutes our need of Christ? Is it a conviction of guilt and wretchedness, or a taste for philosophy? Do we want a Redeemer to save us from our sins, or a moral teacher to give us a plausible theory of human duties? Christ can be our Redeemer only if he is what he proclaims himself to be, the Son of God, sent into the world that the world through him might be saved. If he is not this, his moral teaching began with falsehood, and was propagated by delusion. And if he is this, what but contempt and insult can be found in that half-allegiance which criticizes while it bows; which sifts and selects while it submits; which approves or rejects as its reason or its feelings or its nervous sensibilities may dictate; which condescends to acknowledge him as the teacher of a dark age and an ignorant people; bowing the knee before him, half in reverence, half in mockery, and crying, *Hail, King of the Jews*. If Christ is a mere human teacher, we of this nineteenth century can no more be Christians than we can be Platonists or Aristotelians. He belongs to that past which cannot repeat itself: his modes of thought are not ours: his difficulties are not ours: his needs are not ours. He may be our teacher, but not our Master; for no man is master over the free thoughts of his fellow-men: we may learn from him, but we sit in judgment while we learn: we modify his teaching by the wisdom of later ages: we refuse the evil and choose the good. But remember, that we can do this, only if Christ is a mere human teacher, or if we of these latter days have received a newer and a better revelation. If now, as of old, he speaks as never man spake; if God, who as at sundry times and in divers manners spake in time past unto the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken unto us by his Son,—what remains for us to do, but to *cast down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth itself against the knowledge of God, and to bring into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ*?<sup>1</sup> The witness which Christ offers of himself either proves every thing, or it proves nothing. No man has a right to say, ‘I will accept Christ as I like, and reject him as I like: I will follow the holy example; I will turn away from the atoning sacrifice; I will listen to his teaching; I will have nothing to do with his mediation; I will believe him when he tells me that he came from the Father, because I feel that his doctrine has a divine beauty and fitness; but I will not believe him when he tells me that he is one with the Father, because I cannot conceive how this unity is possible!’ This is not philosophy which thus mutilates man: this is not Christianity which thus divides Christ. If Christ is no more than one of us, let us honestly renounce the shadow of allegiance to an usurped authority, and boldly proclaim that every man is his own Redeemer. If Christ is God, no less

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. x. 5.

than man, let us beware lest haply we be found even to fight against God."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Arnold would have commended with all his heart (and his was no illiberal spirit) this earnestness of Professor Mansel. His love of his brethren taught him to love Christianity with an extraordinary zeal and with a Pauline energy. In the above exposure of the dishonesty and unreasonableness of our eclectic religionists, he would have cordially sympathized with every word of the Professor.

Dr. Arnold had nothing in common with the ideology of Mr. Wilson. He taught with the prophets and the Lord of the prophets the existence of evil spirits and the temptation of Eve by that old serpent the devil. In the promised seed of the woman he recognised the Redeemer of the world. Nay, so entire was his recognition of Jesus as the spirit of prophecy, that he taught that if we would fully satisfy the highest sense of all prophecy, if we would give it its entire fulfilment, we must seek for it necessarily in him in whom all the promises of God, as St. Paul says, are found to be true.<sup>2</sup>

Admirable as is Paley's sermon<sup>3</sup> in vindication of the ways of God in regard of the destruction of the Canaanites, there is a peculiar value in that of Dr. Arnold on the same subject. "The Israelites' sword, in its bloodiest execution, wrought a work of mercy for all the countries of the earth to the very end of the world. They seem of small importance to us now, those perpetual contests with the Canaanites and the Midianites, and the Ammonites and the Philistines, with which the books of Joshua and Judges and Samuel are almost filled. We may half wonder that God should have interfered in such quarrels, *or have changed the order of nature* in order to give one of the nations of Palestine the victory over another. But in these contests, on the fate of one of these nations the happiness of the human race depended."<sup>4</sup>

With the deeply learned and orthodox Dr. John Forbes,<sup>5</sup> one of the most eminent of theologians in the earlier period of the Stuarts, Dr. Arnold claims for Jael the commendations of Deborah as justly due to her hallowed zeal, notwithstanding the ignorance and infirmity by which that zeal was marked.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, who can tell but that after Jael had offered security to Sisera, it was presented to her mind that she had made an agreement, unlawful in itself, to spare one who was doomed as an enemy of God?

<sup>1</sup> Mansel's *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 253—255. 3rd edit. 1859.

<sup>2</sup> *Sermons chiefly on the Interpretation of Scripture*, by Dr. Arnold. Fellowes, Lond. 1845. p. 21.

<sup>3</sup> Sermon 29. *The Destruction of the Canaanites*, p. 429. *Sermons on Several Subjects*, by the late Rev. Wm. Paley,

D.D., Sub-dean of Lincoln, Prebendary of St. Paul's, and Rector of Bishopwearmouth. 4th edit. Lond. 1809.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 37.

<sup>5</sup> See *Theologiæ Moralis*, lib. 9, c. 8, Prop. 10, § 2, p. 286. *Opera*, tom. i. 1703.

<sup>6</sup> *Sermons*. Fellowes, 1845. p. 86.

With that remarkable instance of the divine interposition in the destruction of Ahab by the lying spirit in the mouth of his prophets, Dr. Arnold deals with true Christian candour. He does not explain this history away. He acknowledges here the controlling hand of God, guiding evil itself to "his own purposes of good."<sup>1</sup>

Neither do I find in Dr. Arnold the semi-pelagian gloss of the history of Zacchæus, which satisfies Professor Stanley; that Zacchæus was justified for his upright restitution. The lesson which Dr. Arnold inculcated from this narrative is that of the Scripture itself: "So then no less complete and unreserved than the gift of the gospel forgiveness is the feeling and the act of Christian repentance."<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Arnold saw in the Gospels the eternal godhead of the Son and his divine unity with the Father.<sup>3</sup> He did not leave his pupils in doubt upon this great article of our faith, as does Professor Jowett in his most infelicitous essay on the *Interpretation of Scripture*.

What would have been Dr. Arnold's horror, could he have foreseen the attacks upon the Atonement made in our day by Professor Jowett and Mr. Maurice with their followers, and seconded and more than seconded by Professor Stanley, may be seen from his sermon on Romans v. 7, 8, published in the appendix to the volume which I have here brought before my readers. "To shew us that it was no little thing to break God's laws, a penalty, we are told, must be paid, and that so vast a one, that all the world would be unable to pay it. But He whose justice could not remit it, lest we should be encouraged to offend, Himself undertook to pay it, that He might so fulfil all His love towards us."<sup>4</sup>

There are indeed points in his theology in which I cannot acquiesce, and in which he did not rise above the level of his age. But I cannot but sympathize with his cordial regard to the foundation of our faith, the mystery of the Triune Godhead, and the doctrine of our redemption as sinners from the curse of the law by the precious blood of the Lamb of God our Saviour. I shudder when the guilt of modern scepticism is fathered<sup>5</sup> upon one who lived and died a firm believer in his God and Saviour; one who ever renounced his own righteousness, and ascribed his salvation to the merits of his Redeemer.

I cannot leave this subject without availing myself of this oppor-

<sup>1</sup> p. 118. See on this whole subject *Calvin's Institutes*, l. 1, c. 18. Calvin here refers to St. Augustine's *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, c. 100—102. They both teach the same doctrine: "Deus igitur omnipotens sive per misericordiam ejus vult misereatur, sive per judicium quem vult obduret, nec inique aliquid facit,

nec nisi volens quicquam facit et omnia quæcunque vult facit." (c. 102, p. 248. *Opera*, tom. iii. Lugd. 1662.)

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 194.

<sup>3</sup> The 20th, 21st, and 40th sermon.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 474.

<sup>5</sup> By both Mr. Burgon on the one hand, and by Professor Stanley on the other.



tunity of adding a few other testimonies to the great doctrine of the Atonement from the third volume of Dr. Arnold's Sermons, published in 1834. In his Good-Friday sermon we read: "By one offering, namely, the offering up of Himself upon the cross, as on this day, for the sins of the whole world, by this offering we are perfected, *and without it we were lost.*"<sup>1</sup> Upon those words, "For God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish but have everlasting life," he says, "In these few words there is contained all that we need."<sup>2</sup> And again, "*What had I been had Christ not died?*"<sup>3</sup> And in another place he speaks of "*the one great message of the Gospel, salvation through faith in Christ crucified.*"<sup>4</sup> Would Professor Stanley explain this away? Would to God that he would lay to heart Dr. Arnold's words in a sermon published at a still later period of his life, in 1841.

"Christ died as a proper sacrifice for sin; as a sacrifice the virtue of which is altogether distinct from our knowledge of it, or from *any effect which it has a tendency to produce on our own minds.* We are forgiven for his sake: we are acquitted through his death, and through faith in his blood. What a view does this open—partially indeed, for what mortal eye can reach to the end of it?—of the evil of sin, and of God's love! of what God's justice required, and of what God's love fulfilled. This great sacrifice was made once, but it will not be made again: for those who despise this, there remains no more offering for sin, but their sin abideth with them for ever."<sup>5</sup>

2. It may have been that had our theology as a whole been more in unison with the original teaching of our Church, which was in entire conformity with the Holy Scriptures, we should have had to lament over fewer instances of defection from the faith than we now have. We may not shut our eyes to the fact, that within the last thirty years a new theology has grown up in our communion, which has had no small influence upon both the clergy and the laity, based not upon the Word of God, but upon the speculations of the middle ages. It in vain claims a Patristic origin. It in vain assumes the name of Anglo-Catholic. Its peculiarities are as uncatholic as the corruptions of the Church of Rome. Whence is derived the tenet that there are but two seasons of absolute cleansing, Baptism and the Day of Judgment?<sup>6</sup> whence the tenet of the Real Presence in the form in which it was condemned some years ago by the University of Oxford?<sup>7</sup> whence that of the invalidity of ordina-

<sup>1</sup> *Sermons*, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 50, and seq.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 76.      <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 417.

<sup>5</sup> *Christian Life. Sermons*, 1841, pp. 260, 261.

<sup>6</sup> See Dr. Pusey's *Letter to the Bishop*

*of Oxford*, pp. 92, 93.

<sup>7</sup> See *The Real Presence*, a sermon preached at the University Church, Cambridge, on Sunday, Aug. 18th, 1856, by the Rev. A. T. Russell. Camb., Deighton, Bell and Co.; Lond., Skeffington, 1857.

tion under any circumstances and in any country, save but from episcopal hands?"<sup>1</sup> These tenets were alike unknown to the primitive Church and to our own in her best days, in those days in which she witnessed with her blood to no party peculiarities, but to the essential truths of the Gospel, the sole efficacy of the Redeemer's mediation, and the right of God alone to the worship offered up in his own house.

The great movement to which I allude, tended to lower the authority of Holy Scripture in men's eyes. And it could not fail to be otherwise. To this day the prime mover is but a Sabellian (or something all but indistinguishable from it) in the bosom of the Church of Rome. For that Church will shut her eyes to a thousand inconsistencies, if only she can enlarge her numbers or retain her children in her ranks. But can it be that Dr. Newman, the Catholic champion, the boast of the Romish Church in the nineteenth century, is heterodox upon the doctrine of the Holy Trinity?

"When we speak of person," writes Dr. Newman, "we mean nothing more than the one God in substance, viewed relatively to him the one God, as viewed in that correlative which we therefore call another person.—We say Father, Son, and Spirit, but when we would abstract a general idea of them in order to number them, our abstraction does but really carry us back to the one substance." The author had said that these and other statements of a similar nature were not intended to explain, but to bring home to the mind what it is which faith receives. Upon this language the late excellent Bishop of Lincoln observed, "The statements certainly explain nothing, but they appear to me to destroy the notion of the distinct personality of the Father, Son, and Spirit; and the author of the Athanasian Creed, according to this view, was ill employed on introducing so repeatedly as he has, the notion of number. Every one who recites that Creed, supposes it to assert that there are three distinct persons, not merely three relations, in the godhead."<sup>2</sup> This learned prelate has pointed out more of the same dangerous and unprofitable kind of speculation in Dr. Newman's notes to the Oxford Translation of the Treatises of Athanasius.

And in the same spirit were his Lectures upon Justification

<sup>1</sup> "Meanwhile exclusive claims were advanced for the authority and efficacy of a church blessed with episcopacy and the apostolical succession, and for the priestly office and the powers entrusted to it, such as were unknown not only to our Reformers, but to the greatest divines of the succeeding age; and what was previously held to be only of the *bene esse* was taught to be of the *very essence* of a true Church."

*A Charge delivered to the Clergy and Churchwardens of the Diocese of Lincoln, at his Triennial Visitation in October, 1861, by John Jackson, D.D., Bishop of Lincoln.* Lond. Skeffington, Piccadilly, 1861, p. 42. Excellent are the observations of his Lordship on the whole subject of the *Essays and Reviews*, pp. 39—48.

<sup>2</sup> Bp. Kaye's *Account of the Council of Nicæa*, p. 246.

written. The doctrine of Justification by Faith is a truly Patristic doctrine, as may be seen from Cranmer's *Homily on Salvation*, and Bishop's Andrewes' famous sermon on *The Lord our Righteousness*. It is true that, in spite of that sermon, Bishop Andrewes has been claimed as holding in substance an opposite doctrine. But that great bishop would have declined such an averment as injurious to him. He is plain in his charge upon those who disallow the imputation of our Saviour's righteousness, of robbing him of half his name.

"But in the *positive justice* or that part thereof which is *meritorious* for reward, there fall they into a phansie they may give it over; and suppose that *Justitia à Domino*, a righteousness (from God they grant, yet) *inherent* in themselves, without the *righteousness* that is *in Christ*, will serve them; whereof they have a good conceipt, that it will endure *God's justice*, and standeth not by acceptance. So by this means shrink they up their *name*, and though they leave the full sound, yet take they halfe the sense from it."<sup>1</sup> The doctrine advocated in Dr. Newman's Lectures, and afterwards defended by Professor Pusey, is in truth a rationalistic theory to get rid of the doctrine of the Fathers, the Church of England, and the Scriptures. And accordingly, those who rest satisfied with it and impugn its opposite, see but very partially the true nature and essence of Christianity as a remedial system, a dispensation of salvation through the sacrifice and name of the beloved Son of God.

With respect to the Romish doctrine, that faith is to be regarded as including its fruits and not simply as their root, it is true that Clemens Alexandrinus gave some countenance to this notion. But from a very early period Clemens was justly regarded as an innovator, too much of the Philosopher and too little of the Christian. His ideas were in part unpractical, approaching nearer to the Stoic than to the Christian standard. His *Gnostic* was a truly imaginary character, an exaggeration; "severe so as to be not only incorruptible, but even inaccessible to temptation."<sup>2</sup> Whilst his *perfect Christian* is an unreal character, his *ordinary Christian* is one who does not come up to the universal rule of the Gospel, the great principle of love.<sup>3</sup> Such is not the teaching of the Scriptures; such was not the preaching of the Lord. Whence did Clement profess to derive it? Not from the New Testament, but from oral tradition. With respect to the source of this knowledge, Clement says that "it was imparted by Christ to Peter, James and John and Paul, and by them delivered down to their successors in the Church. It was not designed for the multitude, but communicated to

<sup>1</sup> Bp. Andrewes' *Sermons*, p. 80. *Certain Sermons preached at sundry Times upon Severall Occasions*. 2nd edit. 1631.

<sup>2</sup> Bp. Kaye's *Clemens Alex.*, p. 243. Rivingtons, 1835.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 244.

those only who were capable of receiving it; orally, not by writing."<sup>1</sup>

Yet we know, from the remains of primitive antiquity both before and after the time of Clement, that there was no ground for the assumption of such an origin of his views of Christian perfection.

To return to that movement of which Dr. Newman was the leader, it was a traditional power trenching upon the prerogatives of Holy Scripture. It supplanted the genuine spirit of the gospel with the bondage of superstition. It was essentially Romish in regard of its theology. It sought to strengthen the Church indeed, but by the sacrifice of those inestimable truths which lie at the very foundation of the doctrine of salvation. So in the sacraments it elevated the material; it contracted and depressed the spiritual element.<sup>2</sup>

Mankind are ever prone to extremes. We cannot therefore be surprised when, side by side with superstition and Pharisaism, we see springing up a spirit of Sadduceeism and unbelief. Dr. Moberly has designated the sceptical movement which has lately appeared upon the stage, headed by the seven Essayists, as a natural reaction from the Romanising turn which, some fifteen years since, was given to the revival of Church principles among us.<sup>3</sup> For my own part, I know of no period in which the genuine Church principles of our religious establishment were lost or defunct. But in the first volume of his Parochial Sermons Dr. Newman gave evidence, scattered indeed yet real, of that exaggerated and Romanising bias, which gradually ripened into open defection from that Church which divine Providence had itself prepared and appointed to be the guide of his native country to a still better country, even a heavenly.

3. But it would be short-sighted indeed to seek to one source alone for the present unhappy development of this proud and unthankful unbelief. We see in the case of the late Professor Powell,<sup>4</sup> and others, the natural result of the conceit of learned ignorance. Whensoever men are rich, yet partially rich, in the stores of scientific knowledge, but content to be

<sup>1</sup> *Clemens Alex.*, p. 241. And see the numerous references in the notes.

<sup>2</sup> If the teaching of Dr. Pusey on the Eucharist, and of those who regard themselves as the only Anglo-Catholics, the only consistent adherents of the Catholic faith, is brought to the light, it is a direct contradiction. They claim to receive our Lord's words, *This is my body*, in the letter, and yet they deny that his body is bread, of which nevertheless the words were spoken. Calvin unanswerably alleged against Westphalus, in his *Defensio secunda* in 1556, that Westphalus himself could not avoid interpreting them

figuratively: nam si in pane inquit, et per panem datur corpus Christi, et cum pane recipitur, figuratè constat vocari corpus. Quia corpus in se contineat, non autem id propriè et naturaliter sit quod dicitur. Ludov. Lavatheri *Historia de Origine et Progressu Controversiæ Sacramentariæ*, p. 41. Tiguri, 1563.

<sup>3</sup> *Some Remarks on "Essays and Reviews,"* &c., by Geo. Moberly, D.C.L., Head-Master of Winchester College. Oxford, Parker, 1861. p. lxxv.

<sup>4</sup> See the Rev. E. Garbett's *Boyle Lectures for 1861*, pp. 290—294. Lond. Seeleys.

ignorant of those treasures of spiritual life and light which the God of nature has set before them in the book of revelation, they will inevitably manifest their shallowness and presumption by giving to the world their decisions upon those sublimer subjects for the understanding of which they are morally unprepared. And all this class of objectors to revelation need to be reminded that the Almighty does not descend to the unreasonableness of those who have resolved to learn nothing from him which they cannot teach themselves. A moral preparation is requisite for the perception of spiritual truth, such a perception as is instinct with life. The Rev. Edward Garbett, in his *Boyle Lectures for 1861*, has not hesitated to give due prominence to this unwelcome truth.<sup>1</sup> We find one and another disputant objecting to the very need, and asserting even the impossibility of a revelation. In love with darkness, how can such admit the light? But we need not fear. Scepticism is, after all, the badge not of the philosopher but of the sciolist.

In regard of his knowledge of the visible world and of his own wonderful nature, man is confessedly, "as in all other points," to use the words of Sir William Herschel, "'a being darkly wise;' seeing that all the longest life and most vigorous intellect can give him power to discover by his own research, or time to know by availing himself of that of others, serve only to place him on the very frontier of knowledge, and afford a distant glimpse of boundless realms beyond, where no human thought has penetrated, but which yet he is sure must be no less familiarly known to that intelligence which he traces throughout creation, than the most obvious truths which he himself daily applies to his most trifling purposes. Is it wonderful that a being so constituted should first encourage a hope, and by degrees acknowledge an assurance, that his intellectual existence will not terminate with the dissolution of his corporeal frame; but rather that in a future state of being, disencumbered of a thousand obstructions which his present situation throws in his way, endowed with acuter senses and higher faculties, he shall drink deep at that fountain of beneficent wisdom, for which the slight taste obtained on earth, has given him so keen a relish?"<sup>2</sup>

But there have ever been amongst the opponents of Christianity men of intellectual activity and power uncontrolled by that spiritual susceptibility of the moral sense which inspires the mind with those loftier aspirations so forcibly expressed by this great philosopher. Some there are who, to great natural talent, unite as eminent capacities of sensual indulgence and indomitable self-will. Not every writer of the *Essays and Reviews* could,

<sup>1</sup> *Lecture 1*, pp. 28, 29; and see *Lect.* 7, on the influences of prejudice and the effects of our natural corruption.

<sup>2</sup> Sir W. Herschel's *Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*, pp. 6, 7.



peradventure, plead an entire exemption from these by no means uncommon characteristics.

4. Certainly, if there be anything lovely or of good report in common honesty, I am too blind to perceive it in clergymen who, with Professors Jowett and Stanley, are banded against the doctrine of the Atonement, and who disingenuously profess to retain terms in utterly different senses from those which they are universally understood to bear. I cannot perceive aught but the most awful guilt in those who, with Mr. Maurice, maintain, in direct opposition to the beloved Evangelist, that our Lord was not a propitiation for our sins; nay, that God could not demand a propitiation without violating his moral attributes and the moral sense of his creatures. I live in sorrow, as I see such blasphemies tolerated month after month, shall I say year after year, in our own venerated communion. I have taken opportunities upon opportunities of giving vent to my grief and indignation. I owe it to my gracious God and Saviour; I owe it to his Church; I owe it to this generation; I owe it to my dear native land.<sup>1</sup>

Volume after volume has appeared in the last few years advocating the same impieties. What shall be said of three series of sermons by clergymen of the Church of England, all so many denials of the Lord that bought them? What shall be said of the apathy that has for the most part prevailed, notwithstanding such astounding facts, notwithstanding such immeasurable crimes? If such preaching is to pass unnoticed, if such doctrine as that of Professor Jowett is to be allowed in a clerical Professor, or in a Professor in a Christian University, then let there be no partiality. Let Dr. John Relly Beard and Mr. James Martineau sit the one as a Canon at Manchester by the side of Mr. Stowell, and the other similarly dignified by the side of Dr. McNeile in the cathedral of Chester. If the Atonement be denied, then is the Word of God as truly insulted as was our only Saviour by the brutal soldiery who *spit upon him, and took the reed and smote him on the head.* (Matt. 27. 30.)<sup>2</sup>

In a word, my Lord, I most sincerely hope, that if we are to see the denial of the Atonement eventually tolerated in our pulpits, we may also live to see an end to the Church of England as an established Church. At present I perceive such a toleration, and I look on with horror and astonishment. Whether it be the fault of our civil or of our ecclesiastical rulers I leave it to the world to decide. We hear of the religious world; but I am inclined to doubt its existence when I see so

<sup>1</sup> This was written previously to Mr. Heath's deprivation by the order of the Privy Council, a decision worthy a Christian legislature.

<sup>2</sup> That the introduction of the im-

pieties of the Essayists and of their friends into our Church is a scandal to the moral sense of the people, is affirmed in the *North British Review*, p. 289, May 1861.

few, like the Bishops of Winchester and Salisbury, apparently alive to our real position. The Church is on her trial.

It is now some years since a friend suggested to me the perusal of the work by which Mr. Maurice was for years best known to the public. I was repelled by its obscurity and the conceit of the author. I soon found that he regarded himself as a greater man than Luther, who fell (but too late to produce any sensible effect) beneath his censure. Himself bred up amongst those who denied our blessed Redeemer's godhead, Mr. Maurice from the first appears to have acquired the same style both of thought and of expression; and whilst he professes faith in the Trinity, he has laboured to strip that fundamental mystery of all true religion of its practical relation to mankind, by denying the work both of the Redeemer and the Sanctifier, the Son and Spirit of God: for how shall the Spirit shew to the world the things of Christ, when the mystery of his redeeming love is taken away?

5. In the steps of the author of *Vestiges of Creation* followed the late Professor Powell, whilst Dr. Rowland Williams is emulous of the questionable celebrity of Ewald. Professor Jowett<sup>1</sup> is content to place before his readers the untenable speculations and transparent errors of Ferdinand von Baur and De Wette. Meanwhile he establishes the authenticity of St. Paul's writings, that he may supersede their contents by an interpretation as far from their literal and obvious design as the most far-fetched allegories of the Rabbins or of the Fathers. But there is one Epistle which is so unmanageable in the conflict between his school and the teaching of the whole Church from the beginning, that for that the Professor disdains the honourable office which in other instances he has fulfilled with acknowledged ability.

6. It was not to be expected that the Church of England should be found a silent observer of these bold attacks upon the essentials of Christianity, nay upon the very existence of revealed religion. Greatly, I believe, do those err, who would fain imagine that her zeal is but the outburst of a transient panic. Greatly, I would hope, will those be disappointed, who would if possible, for the sake of the most reprehensible motives, stem the torrent of hallowed indignation which shall cleanse the temple of God of the apostles of anti-christian error and godless unbelief.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At the commencement of 1856, the year following the publication of Professor Jowett's rationalistic volumes upon some of St. Paul's Epistles, the state of his mind was thus graphically delineated by a writer in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, "Under the dry rot of rationalism every thing appears crumbling down." (January 1856, p. 210.) The whole article is a valuable

development of Professor Jowett's anti-christian teaching. The author, who is at home in German theological literature, remarks that the materials of the Essay on St. Paul and Philo "are almost wholly from *Gfrörer*," p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> An appeal has been made in vain to some of the principal of the London clergy to bring the subject before their diocesan.

Professor Stanley has deemed the present a not unfit occasion of reviewing in a contemptuous and hostile spirit one and another demonstration of the religious feeling of this country in the last thirty years. To reopen the various questions upon which he touches in this weak attempt at bringing into disrepute all earnestness of a religious kind, would require a volume. I shall but allude to the last instance he has chosen to adduce in his catalogue of so-called panics. "He must remember the panic of the papal aggression in 1851, when grave and courtly dignitaries lost their heads on public platforms; when Bishops and Chapters were deluged with addresses, and responded with unanimous protests, against the Pastoral of the Flaminian Gate."<sup>1</sup> Thus does Professor Stanley upbraid the Bishops and Clergy of that Church of which he professes himself a member, because they would not look on in silence at "a *gratuitous insult offered to the crown*." "I call," said the late eminently learned and pious Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Kaye, "I call the act a *gratuitous insult*, because it cannot be pretended that it is necessary in order to ensure to the members of the Romish communion, residing in this kingdom, the free exercise of their religion—that freedom they have now for many years fully enjoyed: this act is therefore done by the Bishop of Rome, not in the assertion of their claim to liberty of conscience, but of his own to spiritual dominion."<sup>2</sup>

To engage the sympathies of the public in favour of the *Essays and Reviews*, Professor Stanley would persuade them that the *Essays and Reviews* would not have received the censure they deserved, but for the notice first of the *Westminster Review*, which laid claim to the writers as making for themselves, and then of the *Quarterly*, against which the Professor has ventured to undertake the defence of his applauded 'Seven.' "A few notices of it," he observes, "containing the usual mild admixture of praise and blame, appeared in some of the weekly Journals. So passed the spring and summer."<sup>3</sup>

On April the 21st, 1860, the *Essays and Reviews* were made the subject of an article, evidently the work of a very intelligent and unprejudiced writer, in the most able weekly Journal of the day, the *Press*. The conclusion is as follows:

"The appearance of this volume cannot be regarded with indifference. Did its entire contents represent but the opinions of even one of the eminent men whose names are prefixed to it, still it would be a sign of the times which we should not be able to overlook. But that no less than seven<sup>4</sup> clergymen of the

<sup>1</sup> *Edinb. Rev.*, No. 230, April 1861, p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> The Bishop of Lincoln's reply to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Nottingham.

<sup>3</sup> *Edinb. Rev.*, April 1861, pp. 463, 464.

<sup>4</sup> A mistake, as Mr. Goodwin is a layman.

Church of England, long recognised as scholars and thinkers of the first rank,—of whom two are at the head of great public establishments, two fill important Professoriates, and two at least have been quite recently among the most successful and influential of College Tutors, while six out of the seven are members of what is commonly esteemed the more orthodox university of the two,—should have combined to publish these reflections, is a circumstance of such gravity as almost to constitute an epoch in our religious history.” The accomplished writer of the above proceeds to remark, “their reckless, if courageous adoption of advanced sceptical theories reminds us painfully of the error committed by the ancient French noblesse.”

Previously to the rebuke in the *Quarterly*, the *Essays and Reviews* were as earnestly denounced and exposed, and with no ordinary ability, in the month of August, in the *North British Review*. In vain, therefore, are the efforts of Professor Stanley to excite the odium of his readers against all who have been shocked by the sceptical tendencies of the *Essays*. But one feeling respecting them pervades all who regard the Scriptures upon any theory of inspiration as the Word of God. But one feeling respecting them pervades all who are not ready with Professor Stanley to deny that Christianity has any dogmatical peculiarities, any doctrinal peculiarities in the sense in which that word is commonly used. The impetuous advocate of these miserable productions betrays his consciousness of the general indignation which they have excited, when he asserts in page 468, that the ignorant and unthinking must always compose the great bulk both of the clergy and laity. Are then the Bishops of Oxford and Ely, of Exeter and Worcester, of Llandaff and St. David's; are Drs. Jelf, Moberly, and Pears, with many others who might be named; are these amongst the ignorant and unthinking? The errors which have been exhibited in the pages of Professor Jowett,—errors which his learning might have avoided, and from which the most moderate amount of religious thoughtfulness would have saved him,—are such as might have shamed the ignorant and unthinking. What but the union of reckless ignorance<sup>2</sup> with profane levity could have induced Professor Jowett to impose upon the world the dictum of De Wette (one of the *distinguished theologians* memorialized in the pages of Professor Stanley<sup>3</sup>) that the

<sup>1</sup> In the French Revolution. *The Press*, 1860, p. 386.

<sup>2</sup> And who would not infer incredible ignorance of the New Testament from Professor Jowett's assertion respecting our Lord's appearing to St. Paul (Acts 9), that “not a hint is found in his writings that he regarded the ‘heavenly vision’ as an objective evidence of Christianity?”

*On St. Paul's Epistles*, vol. i. p. 230. But (1 Cor. 15. 3—8) St. Paul, to convince others, after mentioning our Lord's shewing of himself to others, says, *And last of all he was seen of me also*. See more in the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, Jan. 1856.

<sup>3</sup> *Edinb. Rev.*, p. 480.

following prophecies have failed: Jeremiah 36. 30; Isaiah 23; Amos 7. 10—17;<sup>1</sup> in other words, that Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Amos were false prophets? Whether he be De Wette or an English Professor, Dr. Stanley must not complain if his countrymen refuse to acknowledge such men as Christians, who can treat with such contempt the Old Testament, nay, who by implication deny the veracity of the adorable Son of God; who, according to them, honoured these impostors with his sanction by his invariable recognition of the Jewish Scriptures as the Word of Truth. We wonder not that the notorious Theodore Parker should have translated De Wette's Introduction to the Old Testament; that Theodore Parker who writes as follows: "I take not the Bible for my master, nor yet the Church, nor even Jesus of Nazareth for my master."<sup>2</sup> Let not Professor Stanley complain of the *Westminster Review*. Theodore Parker and his own misguided friend Professor Jowett are agreed in their admiration of De Wette. His depreciation of the Holy Scriptures commends him to the apostle of infidelity and the unhappily fluctuating Greek Professor.

It is thus that the religious feeling not only of the Church of England but of every Christian communion has been outraged by this volume. It is thus that its authors have brought upon themselves the gravest suspicions of a design to revolutionize and change the whole face of Christianity, and to sweep away all creeds to make way for that motley thing, that heap of uncertain speculations which passes under the name of the Religion of Nature.

This, however, is but sport for the eyes of Professor Stanley. "We are inclined," he says, "as we gaze at the innocent frenzy of a large part of the religious world, to join in the charitable exclamation of John Huss, when he saw a pious old woman bringing a faggot to his stake, *O sancta simplicitas! O pious simplicity!*" As I read these lines they called up to my imagination the Professor of Ecclesiastical History offering to me the *Essays and Reviews*, and saying, Here is genuine Christianity; whereupon I could not but say to myself, *O fraus pia! O sanctimonious duplicity!*

But notwithstanding the well-known aberrations of his friend Professor Jowett, "the Universities," says Dr. Stanley, "maintained a dignified reserve." The University of Oxford did indeed reserve its favour for other Professors, passing over the Professor who had disavowed the doctrine of the Atonement.

7. Professor Stanley, regarding the doctrine of the Atonement as an unessential and purely speculative point, as indeed he appears to regard all the other peculiar doctrines of Christ-

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*. 8th edit. pp. 342, 343. *pended to Theism, Atheism, and the Popular Theology*, p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> *Some account of my Ministry*, ap-



ianity, thought fit to signify his displeasure at such a mark of disapprobation being set upon his friend; and accordingly gave expression to that displeasure in two sermons before the University of Oxford, the one entitled *The Freedom of the Gospel*, preached on the Act Sunday, the Second Sunday after Trinity, July 5th, 1859, the other from the parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard, preached on Septuagesima Sunday, Feb. 5, 1860. From the notes to these sermons we learn that the freedom of the Gospel is the being left at perfect liberty to declaim against and to misrepresent the Gospel, and to introduce Socinianism into all that relates to the Christian doctrine of Atonement,<sup>1</sup> into our Universities and all the pulpits of the land; in short, to set up a Christianity without a Saviour, except in such terms as may sound rational and agreeable in the ears of the modern Unitarian. None who have carefully perused Professor Jowett's Dissertations, and who are acquainted with the history, the rise and progress of Socinian doctrines<sup>2</sup> as regards the nature of our Redemption by Christ, will hesitate to admit the truth of this statement. Every right-minded member of our Church must have been both grieved and shocked at the assertion of Professor Stanley, that his friend Professor Jowett's statements are "founded on a serious, reverent, careful study of the words of Holy Scripture."<sup>3</sup> In the very Dissertation in question Professor Jowett has intimated that he is not to be bound by Holy Scripture. Why does Dr. Stanley persist in representing Professor Jowett as one of those who profess to defer with reverence to Holy Scripture? So far from bringing doctrinal questions to the bar of Revelation, Professor Jowett commences his attack upon the great truth of our Redemption by the unqualified assertion, that to represent the Almighty as satisfied by the sufferings of His Son in our stead, is to explain the Atonement in a way at which our moral feelings revolt. He demurs at the very outset to the death of Christ being explained by the analogy of the ancient rite of sacrifice, and to the application of the institutions and ceremonies of the Mosaic law to our Lord. Yet who can,

<sup>1</sup> Let Professor Stanley take warning from Mr. Isaac Taylor's prediction in the *North British Review*: "The Essayists will not realize their own intentions. This we boldly predict. They have egregiously misapprehended the mood and manner of their countrymen at large, religious and irreligious, when they imagine that liberty shall be allowed to a clergyman either to profess his belief in the resurrection of Christ, or to treat that alleged fact as an open question—a speculative point of little importance. When religious opinion in England has come up to—has fallen to *this* level, there

will be Church no longer, there will be Christianity no longer in England."—*North British Review*, p. 284, May 1861. Professor Stanley, at p. 487, *Edinb. Rev.* 1861, has shewn that he is ready, if consistent, to plead for such an amount of *freedom*. But neither will the people of England admit of a *Christianity* without an *Atonement*.

<sup>2</sup> See *A Preservative against Socinianism*, by Jonathan Edwards, D.D., and Principal of Jesus Coll., Oxon. The Second Part. Oxon. 1694.

<sup>3</sup> p. 48.

without the most palpable disregard of truth, deny that it is in Holy Scripture that we find such an application of the law to Christ, such a reference of the ancient sacrifices to his sacrifice, and that with a view to expiation, expiation by a ransom, the offering up of his life and precious blood in our stead? What Christian scholar but will admit that it is but a solemn mockery on the part of Professor Jowett and those Socinian commentators whom alone he follows in this instance, to treat upon any other principles than those which he condemns, the words of the Apostle, *For when we were yet without strength, in due time Christ died for the ungodly. For scarcely for a righteous (a just) man will one die: yet peradventure, for a good man some would even dare to die. But God commendeth his love toward us, in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us.*<sup>1</sup>

This doctrine, so subtly, so presumptuously, and so unscripturally opposed by Professor Jowett, I have looked for in vain in the sermons both of Dr. Temple and of Professor Stanley. Both Dr. Stanley and his friend Professor Jowett build their systems, if systems they may be called, upon the maxim which has always been received by our modern Unitarians, that "Scripture is not doctrine, but teaching;"<sup>2</sup> as though the teaching of Holy Scripture did not comprise doctrine. Professor Jowett moreover rests his religion not upon the authority of the Word of God, but upon this and that truth standing the test of a moral criterion.<sup>3</sup> Thus faith itself is set aside, and reason and each man's isolated feeling of right and wrong are made the basis, the fluctuating and uncertain basis of religious opinion. Faith is altogether banished, for faith is not the acquiescing in the conclusions of reason. Faith is the reception of truths above reason. Faith is the worship of reason convinced of her own weakness and dependence upon the Word of God.

8. Professor Stanley would impress the readers of the *Edinburgh Review* with the belief that one half of the clergy of England are in heart with the deniers of the Atonement and the impugnors of faith in Holy Scripture as the rule to which all our powers of both heart and mind must submit themselves in the matter of religion.

"The names of the absent in a case like this form the real protest of the wise and thoughtful part of the community against a rash and violent excitement."<sup>4</sup> Various were the reasons which induced one and another not to withhold their signatures from the Memorial alluded to, who yet had no sympathy with the writers of the *Essays*, and who utterly

<sup>1</sup> Rom. 5. 6—8.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Jowett *On St. Paul's Epistles*, &c., vol. ii. p. 548. 2nd edit. 1859.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 581.

<sup>4</sup> *Edinb. Rev.*, p. 471, No. 230.

disapproved of their many departures from our common Christianity. Nay, some of these, to my own knowledge, deeply deplore the dishonesty of such of those writers as still continue in our Church only to impugn her doctrines and to pour contempt upon their own subscription to them.<sup>1</sup>

9. Dr. Stanley subsequently gives his judgment that "the whole panic is built upon a falsehood" (p. 472). He cannot but admit that here is "combined action." What is the nature of that combined action? Dr. Stanley himself admits that to a considerable extent the volume as a whole was a *negative attack* upon existing views.<sup>2</sup> An attack which is principally of a negative character, pulling down and building nothing up, he is compelled to admit is in opposition to the English character—"the heart of the English nation." "We cannot," he says, "but lament that out of treatises written with so much ability, so little can be extracted of solid accession to our theological knowledge or biblical literature." The writers however will doubtless pardon their friendly reviewer, as they read a little farther on of the "*noble expressions of religious sentiment* that breathe through the general, and therefore superficial sketches of the present volume."<sup>3</sup> Blame is cast upon them indeed, not so much for their defiance of all sound criticism as for the defiant manner in which they have appeared before the public.<sup>4</sup> In the midst of this censure room is found to commend the late benevolent and indefatigable Chevalier Bunsen as "a great German theologian," and also "the great work of Ewald." Whatsoever may be Dr. Stanley's admiration of Ewald, the opinion of Bishop Thirlwall<sup>5</sup> will be regarded in this country as of far greater weight, and not the less so that that candid and erudite prelate has not been ashamed to live both to learn and to unlearn.

10. Upon Professor Powell, Dr. Stanley writes in a style so ambiguous that I profess I am uncertain of his meaning, as he acknowledges himself uncertain of the meaning of the late Professor Powell. "If he means to say that miracles must be relegated from the sphere of historical evidence into the region of faith, this is not an uncommon opinion even in the so-called religious world."<sup>6</sup> Does Professor Stanley mean to justify the exclusion of miracles from the evidences of Christianity? Afterward Dr. Stanley ventures to assert positively of Professor Powell that he does not deny miracles.<sup>7</sup> It is

<sup>1</sup> See *Reply to Dr. Wild and the 'Edinburgh.'* *A Defence of the Bishops and the Memorialists*, in ■ *Letter to the Rev. G. J. Wild, LL.D., &c.*, by Fra. Bodfield Hooper, Rector of Upton Warren, near Bromsgrove. Lond. Rivingtons, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* p. 472.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 473.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 474.

<sup>5</sup> See *A Letter to the Rev. Rowland Williams, D.D.*, pp. 67, 68.

<sup>6</sup> p. 475.

<sup>7</sup> "This, and not any antagonism to the supernatural as such, is the true origin of those expressions of the Essayists, which have been so elaborately mis-

overwhelmingly lamentable to find one who, from his very position in a learned University, is bound not to be ashamed of appearing as the advocate of Christianity, thus volunteering to become the apologist of one who denies that it is in the power of man justly to conclude any supernatural agency from anything whatsoever that it may please God to work before his eyes. If, for instance, a man saw another, of the reality of whose death he could have no doubt, raised from the dead, he cannot justly infer from such a fact, according to Professor Powell, a divine interposition. Let Professor Stanley, if he can, affix any other meaning to the following:

"The question agitated is not that of mere testimony, of its value, or of its failures. It refers to those *antecedent* considerations which must govern our entire view of the subject, and which being dependent on higher laws of belief, must be paramount to all attestation, or rather belong to a province distinct from it. *What is alleged is a case of the supernatural, but no testimony can reach to the supernatural*; testimony can apply only to apparent sensible facts; testimony can only prove an extraordinary and perhaps inexplicable occurrence or phenomenon: *that it is due to supernatural causes is entirely dependent on the previous belief and assumptions of the parties.*"<sup>1</sup> This assumption of Professor Powell outrages common sense, and its only use could be to justify the infidel in his unbelief respecting the resurrection of our only Saviour; a fact of which Professor Powell could have, on his own grounds, no assurance. It remains for Professor Stanley to state on what other ground he could indulge in any hope of his own resurrection. The world, whether the religious or the irreligious world, may surely be pardoned if they regard the late Professor as a foe to Christianity, and Professor Stanley as a very lukewarm advocate of revelation, ready to sink its cause in behalf of even the late Professor Powell.

But Professor Powell had no mind to be mistaken. As the apostles of infidelity are ever characterized by their dogmatical presumption, he was not slow to maintain in the clearest possible language, that had he witnessed the resurrection he would not have inferred from it anything supernatural. "If at the present day any very extraordinary and unaccountable fact were exhibited before the eyes of an unbiassed, educated, well-informed individual, and supposing all suspicion of imposture put out of the question, his only conclusion would be that it was *something he was unable at present to explain*; and

understood and misrepresented. They do not deny miracles, but," &c. p. 486. At p. 485, Prof. Stanley observes, that Justin Martyr, in his *Apology*, rarely if ever appeals to the miracles of the Gospel as the

proof of its divinity. Upon this see Professor Heurtley's *Essay*, p. 188, in the *Replies to Essays and Reviews*.

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 107.

if at all versed in physical studies, he would not for an instant doubt either that it was really due to some natural cause, or that if properly recorded and examined, it would at some future time receive its explanation by the advance of discovery."<sup>1</sup> Upon such unbiassed philosophers the words of an apostle that our Lord was *declared to be the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead*,<sup>2</sup> would be altogether thrown away.

Professor Powell denies supernatural evidence to supernatural truths. He does not indeed acknowledge his own belief in any other kind of evidence to those truths. And it is not clear that he entertained for himself any belief in an omnipotent Creator. "The divine omnipotence," he says, "is entirely an inference from the language of the Bible adopted on the assumption of a belief in revelation."<sup>3</sup>

Not so the testimony either of reason or Scripture. Had this Professor ever read or ever believed St. Paul? Or was the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans no part of his Bible? Or did he reject the idea of divine omnipotence? Did he profess as a natural philosopher to disbelieve the omnipotence of his Maker as being entirely an inference from the language of the Bible, assuming the Bible to be a divine revelation? St. Paul indeed would have regarded the "rejection of the idea of creation" as the madness of the pseudo-philosopher. Professor Powell joins in the rejection of that idea, and announces this circumstance in page 129 of the *Essays and Reviews*. The name of Owen (p. 139) is of more weight with the Professor than the name which sanctioned the law upon Mount Sinai. And it is well known amongst that reflecting portion of the world to whom Professor Stanley would appeal in behalf of the *Essays and Reviews*, that the same antagonism to the first principles of natural religion on the part of Mr. Baden Powell had been collected from his *Essay on the Study of the Evidences of Natural Theology*, published in the *Oxford Essays* of 1857.<sup>4</sup>

Does Professor Stanley imply, by his general defence of all the authors of *Essays and Reviews*, that nothing could be farther from the mind of Professor Powell than to unsettle the belief of his generation in revealed religion?<sup>5</sup> The Professor appears to have given a previous intimation of this design in the *Introductory Essay* to his *Christianity without Judaism*. "The influence of the advance of physical science on religion is, in truth, a very wide subject, and involves some topics at once of great difficulty and high import in regard to the very

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 107. See on this assumption the conclusive observations of Professor Mansel, in *Aids to Faith. Essay on Miracles*, § 11, pp. 13, 14.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. 1. 4.

<sup>3</sup> p. 113.

<sup>4</sup> See *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, Jan. 1858, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> "A conspiracy of clergymen banded together to undermine the Christian Faith."—*Edinb. Rev.*, April 1861, p. 468.



*foundation of a belief in revelation and its received external evidences.* But these are questions which will not fall within the scope of the present discussion, but will be reserved for a future opportunity." He thus warrants that just indignation against himself and his writings which Professor Stanley would repel as the result of ignorance and malice.

11. The bias of Professor Powell is unmistakeably apparent in every page of his contribution to the *Essays and Reviews*. He is glad, in his attack upon the miracles to which our Lord and his Apostles appealed in behalf of their authority, to avail himself of the names of Theodore Parker, J. Sterling, Mr. Emerson, and Professor F. W. Newman.<sup>1</sup>

And having by confident declamation and unproved assertion laboured to destroy the belief of his readers in the reality of our Lord's miracles, he sets up no other evidence in favour of Christianity. He is silent upon the nature of his own belief, and equally silent upon the nature of that faith, with an enigmatical allusion to which he concludes a dissertation, the only end of which, if it has any, is to throw open the door of scepticism and to furnish a specious plea to the self-deceiver who would renounce his God.

Professor Powell could not indeed have any belief in revelation, regarding as he did the very first page of the Scriptures as a fable. He hesitates not to build his philosophy upon "the rejection of the idea of creation."<sup>2</sup>

12. It however appears that our "would-be philosopher"<sup>3</sup> did not carry Sir William Herschel with him. My readers will not be indisposed to turn away from the revolting dogmatism of this unhappy sceptic to the pages of the great astronomer. "The discoveries of modern chemistry have gone far to establish the truth of an opinion entertained by some of the ancients, that the universe consists of distinct, separate, indivisible atoms, or individual beings so minute as to escape our senses, except when united by millions, and by this aggregation making up bodies of even the smallest visible bulk; and we have the strongest evidence that although there exist great and essential differences in individuals among these atoms, they may yet all be arranged in a very limited number of groups or classes, all the individuals of each of which are, to all intents and purposes, *exactly alike* in all their properties. Now, when we see a great number of things precisely alike, we do not believe this similarity to have originated except from a common

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 114. Those who would inform themselves of the opinions of these writers can refer to the *Eclipse of Faith*, Prof. Mansel's *Bampton Lectures*, and the Rev. James Byrne's *Six Discourses on Naturalism and Spiritualism*, preached at the Donellan Lecture before the

University of Dublin, 1856; also the first part of the late Archdeacon Hardwick's *Christ and other Masters*.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> "These would-be philosophers," &c., p. 135.



principle independent of them; and that we recognize this likeness chiefly by the identity of their deportment under similar circumstances, rather strengthens than weakens the conclusion. A line of spinning-jennies, or a regiment of soldiers dressed exactly alike and going through precisely the same evolutions, gives us no idea of independent existence: we must see them act out of concert before we can believe them to have independent wills and properties, not impressed on them from without. And this conclusion, which would be strong even were there only two individuals precisely alike in *all* respects and *for ever*, acquires irresistible force when their number is multiplied beyond the power of imagination to conceive. If we mistake not then, the discoveries alluded to effectually destroy the idea of an *eternal self-existent matter*, by giving to each of its atoms the essential characters at once of a *manufactured article* and a subordinate agent."<sup>1</sup>

Creation itself has been, and with reason, regarded as a miracle. And creation has in itself a record of numerous and successive miracles, the rise of new and various kinds of creatures after long intervals, intervals of many ages. Why, if it pleased God, in that wonderful preparation of the earth for man, to lay to his hand again and again to work marvels as unique in kind as the Creation, and those marvels so many successive acts of creative might, why should he not have wrought similarly in ways transcending his ordinary operations, in the preparation of the world for the display of a new order of things in that new heaven and new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness? If he wrought thus wondrously to prepare this magnificent dwelling for the body, why should he not have wrought as extraordinarily when he purposed to restore and new create the souls of men to be the immortal abodes of their Almighty Maker and Redeemer? Feliculously bold and divinely poetical are the words of the able author of *The Analogy*: "Revelation itself is miraculous, and miracles are the proof of it."<sup>2</sup> And the end of Revelation was the reparation of that divine temple, the soul, which sin had ruined and destroyed.<sup>3</sup>

The great multitude even of educated minds will never even enter the school of metaphysics. Neither is it any subtlety but that of the old serpent's which really indisposes men to believe in the miracles recorded in Scripture. The whole point is summed up, as Professor Mansel observes, in Paley's criti-

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Herschel's *Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy*, pp. 37, 38. And see Dr. Chalmers' *Institutes of Theology*, vol. i. c. 1. Constable, Edinb. 1849.

<sup>2</sup> *Analogy*, part ii. c. 2. See Prof. Mansel's *Aids to Faith*, p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Admirable and comprehensive in-

deed are the words of St. Augustine in his eloquent little treatise on the Evidences of Christianity, *De Utilitate credendi*: Offerens medicinam quæ corruptissimos mores sanatura esset, miraculis conciliavit auctoritatem, auctoritate meruit fidem. c. 14, p. 136, tom. vi. Lugd. 1562.

cism, "Once believe that there is a God, and miracles are not incredible."<sup>1</sup>

I will only observe farther that I have long acquiesced in the statement put forth by Professor Mansel respecting the alleged power of evil spirits to perform miracles in behalf of a false doctrine: "it remains yet to be shewn that in all human experience any instance can be produced of a real miracle wrought by evil spirits for purposes of deception."<sup>2</sup> Nay, the Lord could not permit the dead to return to the earth to give the lie to his own Word.

13. On the relative place of miracles and prophecy in the evidences of Christianity, Dr. Chalmers has enlarged with great force and clearness in the fifth chapter on the Evidences of Christianity, in that incomparable work, his *Institutes of Theology*. Whilst he denominates the miracles the miracles of power, he very characteristically remarks that "prophecies with their fulfilments form another species of miracle, the miracles of knowledge." Dr. Chalmers points out that miracles were but one of many proofs to which our Lord appealed as the credentials of his mission. Fulfilled prophecy was a series of incontestable miracles, especially after the destruction of Jerusalem. These could be gainsayed by neither Jew nor Gentile. For the study of prophecy numerous are the instructions and illustrations to be found in Dr. James Rambach's *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ*. Those who are acquainted with his pages will not, as is now too much the fashion, undervalue the so-called *Pietists*, amongst whom were some of the most learned and orthodox divines of Germany in the last century. Amongst their divines was Bengel.

14. The volume in which we meet with the above attacks upon religion, both natural and revealed, has at least reached an eighth edition. The several authors may justly be held responsible for the whole of its contents, notwithstanding their disavowal of each other's productions. They do not, after repeated editions, object to appear in company, and thus to aid in the dissemination of the various errors that go to make up the volume. Of all the *seven*, the late Professor Powell was the most offensive opponent of religion. He held himself bound by no creed. He laid irreverent hands upon the Old and the New Testament alike. He appears as the undisguised detractor of them both in his *Christianity without Judaism*, endeavouring to bring into open ridicule the very idea of a covenant which is indissolubly connected with both the Mosaic and the Christian dispensation. There he objected to the law as representing Jehovah as entering into a *covenant* with his people—"an idea," says this Professor, "specially adapted to a nation of the lowest moral capacity." Little could he have studied the New Tes-

<sup>1</sup> *Aids to Faith*, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 33.

tament, or lightly must he have regarded it, to have affirmed that the evidence to be found in it for the observance of the Lord's Day amounted to little or nothing. It raises my astonishment to find such an individual vindicated by a professedly Christian clergyman, by a Wild and a Stanley.

15. But whilst Professor Powell continued to the last to enjoy his emoluments as a Christian member of a Christian University, he openly espoused one infidel doctrine reprobated by all professing Christians, and diametrically opposed to the clearest teaching of him who is the Truth himself. After having put into the mouths of those theologians against whom he disputes the following words, "It is in vain to seek to convince reason unless the conscience and the will be first well disposed to accept the truth," he adds, "Such is the constant language of orthodox theologians. What is it but a mere translation into other phraseology of the very assertions of the sceptical transcendentalist?"<sup>1</sup>

The present Rector of Lincoln College has taken up similar ground. He appears as the champion of Toland and Collins against Leland and Bentley. He complains, in page 327 of *Essays and Reviews*, that the divines of what he is pleased to call the Hanoverian school maintained, in accordance with the words of our Redeemer, that "if a person refused to admit the evidence for revelation, it was because he did not examine it with a dispassionate mind. His understanding was biassed by his wishes; some illicit passion he was resolved on gratifying, but which prudence *forsooth* would not have allowed him to gratify so long as he continued to believe in a future judgment. The wish that there *were* no God suggested the thought that there *is* not. Speculative unbelief is thus asserted to be a consequence of a bad heart." Thus through the side of the Hanoverian divines does the professedly Christian Rector of Lincoln College aim his arrows at the words of Christ himself; *This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.*

16. As Professor Powell rejected the "idea of creation,"<sup>2</sup> so there have not been wanting some who have both maintained the eternity of matter, and have laboured to silence the contrary witness of Holy Scripture. Mr. Goodwin notices this latter circumstance, neither indeed altogether approving nor condemning.

"We are told that *in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.* It has been matter of discussion amongst theologians whether the word *created* (Heb. *bara*) here means simply shaped, or formed out of nothing. From the use of the word *bara* in other passages, it appears that it does not necessarily

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 129.

mean to make out of nothing, but it certainly might impliedly mean this in a case so peculiar as the present. The phrase *the heaven and the earth* is evidently used to signify the universe of things, inasmuch as the heaven in its proper signification has no existence until the second day. It is asserted then that God shaped the whole material universe, whether out of nothing or out of pre-existing matter. But which course the writer really intended is not material for our present purpose to enquire, since neither astronomical nor geological science affects to state anything concerning the first origin of matter."<sup>1</sup> Bishop Pearson himself similarly remarks: "We must not therefore weakly collect the true nature of creation from the force of any word which by some may be thought to express so much, but we must collect it from the testimony of God the Creator in His Word, and of the world created, in our reason."<sup>2</sup> However *Kimchi*, according to Buxtorf, observes on Isaiah 43. 7, יצר [finxit, formavit] "De homine usurpatum, significare formationem membrorum ipsius: עשה de præparatione victus, amictus aliorumque ad corporis conservationem necessariorum: ברא de creatione prima ex nihilo." Buxtorf distinguishes ברא as a verb restricted to the divine acts; *creavit*, ac propriè Deo competit. The appropriation of ברא to God as creating all things out of nothing is maintained against Le Clerc by Deyling in the first volume of his *Observationes Sacræ*.<sup>3</sup> More recently this question has been very ably considered by the Rev. Donald Macdonald in his elaborate volume on *Creation and the Fall*.<sup>4</sup> Its connection indeed points as evidently here to a creation out of nothing. Justly may we look upon the enunciation of the creation of the world out of nothing as one of the most striking internal evidences of the divine origin of the Pentateuch. Excellently does Havernick remark in his *Introduction to the Pentateuch*, "To the idea of a creation out of nothing no ancient cosmogony has ever risen, neither in the mythi nor in the philosophemata of the old world."<sup>5</sup>

We have the same doctrine in the New Testament, in the writings of St. John and St. Paul: *All things were made by him, and without him was not anything made that was made.* (John 1. 3). *By faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God; so that things which are seen were not made of things which do appear* (Heb. xi. 4).<sup>6</sup> Such was accordingly the faith of the Church from the beginning. The testimonies of Tertullian, Lactantius, Chrysostom, and Augustine may be seen in Beveridge on the first Article.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 218.

<sup>2</sup> Pearson *On the Creed*, vol. i. p. 66. Oxf. 1843.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 17—22. 3rd edit. Lipsiæ, 1735.

<sup>4</sup> pp. 61—65.

<sup>5</sup> p. 94. Translated by Alex. Thomson, A.M. Clark, Edinb. 1850.

<sup>6</sup> See *Wolfii Curæ Philol. in N. T.*, tom. iv. p. 741. Rosenmüller with Wolf explains these words by Rom. 4. 14. *Schol. in N. T.*, tom. 5, p. 276, ed. 5. Norimb. 1808.

<sup>7</sup> p. 46. 2nd edit. Oxf. Univ. Press, 1846.

## II.

Professor Stanley proceeds from extenuating the infidel writings of the late Professor Powell, to exculpate Mr. Goodwin.

Mr. Goodwin is a layman, as I believe was *generally* known from the very first. To most readers of the *Edinburgh Review* it was probably a discovery that he had ever been mistaken for his deservedly respected brother, the Dean of Ely.

It is simply untrue that Mr. Goodwin has been regarded in a totally different light in consequence of its having become more generally known that he was a layman. He is now distinguished, unhappily distinguished, as the exponent of their views, "who imagine that *the first chapter of Genesis might have been written by some 'early Copernicus or Newton'.*"<sup>1</sup> His various errors have been exposed and refuted by Professor Challis, in a Dissertation not unworthy its author. It is indeed to be regretted that he has made use of the Septuagint instead of the Hebrew, but this circumstance does not invalidate his general argument. A careful perusal of *Creation in Plan and Progress*<sup>2</sup> will, I think, convince a candid reader that geology itself supports and bears witness to the divine inspiration of Moses as the author of this portion of the Book of Genesis. It is true that it will in all probability be at once rejected by those who can agree with Mr. Burgon's mode of dealing with this deeply interesting and important subject. Mr. Burgon assumes his infallibility as God's interpreter in regard of the first chapter of Genesis.<sup>3</sup> He asserts that this chapter is not an account of creation, but of the reconstruction of creation in so far as it was needful with a view to the reception of its future occupants, the human race. But we know that the vast periods of time that beheld the wonders that have been revealed to us by geology are themselves proofs and witnesses of the fatherly foresight and provision of the Almighty for the family of man. The earth as it now is was the work of those unmeasured ages. Witness the vast coal forests that now supply our wants.

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Challis, *Creation in Plan and Progress*, p. 75. Camb. Macmillan, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> In harmony with the title of this Dissertation is the language of Professor Phillips, in his already celebrated volume entitled *Life upon the Earth*: "Nature in a large sense, is the expression of a DIVINE IDEA, the harmonious whole of this world of matter and life." p. 3. And so in p. 57: "Thus the general result is to shew that only *one general plan* of creation is to be traced in all the range of geological time, though the terms in which this plan is expressed vary from period to period."

<sup>3</sup> "I bid him in God's name be silent ;

for now it is God that speaketh. If any question be moved as to how *that actual system of things to which man belongs* began,—I bid him come down, and take the learner's place; for now I mean to assume his vacant chair. *This time there shall at least be no guess-work.* God is now the speaker—and what God revealeth unto me, that I promise faithfully to report to him." p. 26.—*Inspiration and Interpretation*. Seven Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, &c., by the Rev. John William Burgon, M.A., Fellow of Oriel Coll. and Select Preacher. Parker, Oxf. and Lond. 1861.



Archdeacon Pratt has indeed affirmed that there was a total break in the chain of existence previously to the human period;<sup>1</sup> but the general consent of geologists and the most recent evidence are against him. Whether the geologist has admitted a succession of more or less violent and extensive changes and convulsions, "none hold the convulsions universal, or believe in a general chaos immediately antecedent to the creation of man."<sup>2</sup> Thus instructed by the God of nature, the Christian may be permitted to dissent from the interpretation of Mr. Burgon, and may also reply in his behalf, that the conclusions to which Mr. Burgon has arrived are at variance with the very text of Scripture. His hypothesis requires that we should read "*and the earth became*" instead of "*was without form and void*;" a rendering, as Mr. Macdonald<sup>3</sup> has observed, utterly inadmissible. And so in the 3rd verse, for *Let there be light* we must on this hypothesis render, *Let it be light, and it was light*, as though an intransitive verb were read in the place of the noun.

Professor Challis has ably deduced the most remarkable indications of a divine hand in this chapter from its agreement with the great general facts of the world's history anterior to the creation of man. He has, in the course of his labours, repeatedly<sup>4</sup> convicted Mr. Goodwin of error and rashness, and has thus shewn his unfitness for the task which he undertook in his inappropriately designated Essay. That Essay is designated *On the Mosaic Cosmogony*. The very title is intended to call into question the inspiration of the writer. "But the account in the first chapter of Genesis, having reference to facts out of the pale of human experience, clearly comes under the same category as prophecy. It equally claims to be divine revelation—to be a communication from the Spirit of the Creator Himself. If it be less than this, if any human element enters into its composition,—it is worthy of no consideration whatever, because at the time it was written, and for ages after, there existed no human knowledge on which a trustworthy cosmogony could be based."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "But not a single species of the preceding period survived the last of these catastrophes; and this closed the Tertiary period and ushered in the human period."  
—*Scripture and Science not at Variance*, p. 45, by John H. Pratt, M.A., Archdeacon of Calcutta. Lond. Hatchard, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, p. 631. No. 37, July 1861. Lond. Nisbet. The whole article here quoted (*Scripture and Geology*) will amply repay perusal. And see *Life on the Earth*, by Prof. Phillips, pp. 85, 86, 87, 95, 99, 103, 104, 169, 170, 207.

<sup>3</sup> *Creation and the Fall*, p. 248. Observe how this passage is understood by

an eminent geologist: "As already explained, the gift of life on this earth is limited by conditions within which alone it is possible: until these conditions were attained—that is to say, arrived at in the pre-ordained course of nature—the earth might be well described by the words *without form and void*. For the rocky monuments of this period, which we have endeavoured to trace, the terms 'Azoic' and 'Hypozoic' have been suggested."—*Life on the Earth*, p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> See Prof. Challis' *Creation in Plan and Progress*, pp. 41, 46, 53, 56, 73, 75, 80, 88, 103.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 3.



The excellent author adds in a note, "For this reason I object *in limine* to the title '*Mosaic Cosmogony*,' if it be thereby implied that the circumstances of the supposed writer and his connection with the "Hebrew race" are of any moment. The introduction of these considerations in the 'Essay', in which the question as to whether the Scriptural account of the cosmogony is human or divine is evidently raised, is simply a begging of the point at issue, and appears to be indicative of a prejudgment on the part of the author unbecoming a philosophic enquirer. Also I do not understand what is meant by "the Mosaic writer."<sup>1</sup>

In page 63 Professor Challis gives the following summary of the relation existing between the Scripture account and the discoveries of geology. "It may not be possible to refer with any precision the days of the Scripture Cosmogony to periods of geological revolution, more especially the first two days; yet it cannot be denied that there is a general accordance, as to *kind* and *order*, between the changes stated or implied in Scripture, and those which Geology has revealed. The Scriptural statements of the creative acts performed during the last four days, seem to be consistent with the changes of terrestrial conditions which, according to Geology, took place in the interval extending from the era of igneous rocks to the end of the Tertiary deposits. The Tertiary period answers to the sixth day, the time of the Secondary formations to the fifth, the limestone and carboniferous period to the end of the third day. Between the two last periods an interval occurs, during which changes of terrestrial and atmospheric conditions must have been effected, which prepared the earth for inhabitation by the classes of animals that abounded during the secondary and tertiary periods. This interval corresponds to the fourth day. Now according to the Scripture account, it is not till the fourth day that the Sun illumines the earth and its heat determines *seasons*. From this statement it was argued that antecedently the earth was self-luminous, and consequently that terrestrial temperature was in the main independent of extraneous sources. And certainly it must be regarded as a point of agreement with this deduction from Scripture, that geological facts give evidence of the prevalence of a more equable temperature from the polar to the tropical regions in the carboniferous period than that which exists at the present time. This argument receives support from the fact, already adverted to, that the circumstances, as shewn by the Telescope, under which the Sun is self-luminous, are not in disaccord with those which, according to the indications of the Sacred Record, prevailed at the earth's surface on the second and third days.

"As we found points of agreement between Scripture and

<sup>1</sup> *Creation in Plan and Progress*, p. 3.

Science with respect to the processes of elaborating the Earth for the reception and maintenance of plants and animals, so there are points of agreement between the Scriptural account of the creation of these organisms and the records which have been left of them in geological remains. First, it may be inferred from Scripture that there was a period in the earth's history in which there were neither plants nor animals, and that these were generated when the mechanical processes which the earth's crust underwent, had prepared for them the means of life and growth, and fit habitations. Thus plants were created on the third day after the dry land had been caused to appear, and air-breathing vertebrate animals, reptile and winged, were generated on the fifth day, when, as may be presumed, the condition of the atmosphere, and the influence of solar heat, had approximated to what they are now. There were, according to this account, *beginnings* of organizations, and not indefinitely prolonged series: and this is the conclusion to which the observation of fossil remains has led geologists, who speak of Azoic and Palæozoic epochs, and of successive generations of distinct organic types.

"Again, the *order* of the recorded creations, namely, first plants, then in one category, reptile and winged animals and fishes, then quadrupeds wild and tame, and lastly man, is for the most part that in which it has been inferred from Geology that these different kinds of organization made their appearances. (Exceptions to this statement will be presently considered.) Geology, it is true, has also revealed the existence of other organic forms, as encrinites, molluscs, trilobites, and various invertebrate animals, which lived in great abundance before the period of plants. But as these primitive and incipient types are either comprehended in later developments, or are such as could not be known by common observation, no reference is made to them in the Scripture cosmogony.

"From Geology it appears that there was an enormous developement of Flora in the carboniferous period, greatly exceeding the amount of like productions in the same interval both before and after. Again, in the Secondary period there was a developement of animal life remarkable as to form and magnitude, which surpassed by far any previous or subsequent generation of like species, and in the Tertiary period there was a similar large developement of gigantic species of quadrupeds. The organic productions of these three epochs stand out prominently from the rest; and certainly it must be considered as a point of agreement with this fact, that in the Scripture account only *three* epochs of the generation of organised bodies are mentioned, those of the third, fifth, and sixth days.

"We have now to notice points of disagreement, the Scriptural account being still regarded as a narrative. Read as such

it seems to tell us that herbs and fruit-bearing trees came simultaneously into existence at a certain epoch, then two ages after (the days being considered to be ages) reptile and winged animals and fishes, and after another age, quadrupeds. It is a natural inference from these statements that there were no animals between the first and second of these epochs, and no quadrupeds between the second and the third. Whereas, according to Geology, fishes appeared a little before the close of the Silurian System, and therefore long before the coal formations, and reptiles began to appear a little before the close of the Old Red Sandstone, and therefore still previously to the same epoch. Birds are not found to be contemporary with reptiles; and the remains of quadrupeds occur in deposits earlier than the Tertiary. Also plants have been discovered of as early a date as the Old Red Sandstone, and fruit-bearing trees do not belong to the carboniferous period.

"The hypothesis that the revolutions and catastrophes which the Earth's surface underwent subsequently to the creations of the fifth day, might have embedded the remains of animals of that epoch in the materials of older strata and rocks, is inadmissible, because it appears that the earliest remains of fishes and reptiles are of quite distinct species from those of the secondary period.

"The general history of organic formations as revealed by Geology is nearly as follows. The Earth's surface, it may be supposed, was prepared, by operations partly gradual and partly abrupt, to be fit for the life and growth of plants and animals, no other purpose having been hitherto ascertained or recognized. During this process, as soon as any portion had been so elaborated as to be proper for maintaining in life a certain kind of plant or animal, specimens of that kind made their appearance. The first individuals were of an inferior order both as to species and size, and were succeeded by others of a higher order of magnitude and dignity, in proportion as the continually changing circumstances of the Earth's surface were adapted to receive them; till at length an epoch of maximum developement as to numbers and size, but not necessarily as to dignity or complexity of organization, was reached, after which the specimens declined as to numbers and size.<sup>1</sup> In the mean while, and anterior to the epoch of the maximum of the first kind, inferior individuals of quite another kind began to shew themselves, which were succeeded by species of the same class larger and more fully developed, till, after another maximum was attained, the specimens declined as to size and abundance, increasing at the

<sup>1</sup> "The highest developement of each class is a fact not dependent on time, but upon physical conditions."—Sedgwick's *Discourse*, p. lvii. 'In the Fauna of any old period (*e.g.* the Oolitic) species were gradually exterminated by the changes of physical condition.'—*Ibid.* p. cxxxix.

same time in some instances as to complexity and perfection of organization. The facts of Geology, as already remarked, indicate *three* such culminating points.

"Guided by this outline of the history of plants and animals in the geological periods, and arguing now on the hypothesis that the Scripture gives a proleptical account of the creation as designed, we shall be able to state a reason why the Scriptural epochs of the creations of the several classes of organizations are not in accordance with the historic epochs of their *first* appearances. It has been found that at the first appearances the creative operation is not at its highest and fullest developement. But an antecedently conceived plan must apply in an especial manner to the maximum operation, otherwise it is not sufficiently comprehensive of *all* conditions. Also a scheme which applies to the maximum of the operation must embrace all the ascending steps by which the maximum is reached, and all the subsequent descending steps. Now according to Geology, these gradations depended on the varying conditions of the Earth's surface. Hence, although the three principal schemes of organic creation are distinct from each other in respect to the groups of organizations which they severally embrace, the intervals over which their unfoldings were spread *overlapped* each other, apparently because the physical conditions proper for different stages of different developements were coexistent. This appears to be a sufficient explanation why, in a description of the original design, the epochs of the creations of organisms (necessarily indicated by reference to time) do not agree with the historic epochs of the beginnings of the species, but with those of their maximum developements."<sup>1</sup>

### III.

We have seen that for Mr. Goodwin's rejection of the first chapter of Genesis as no part of Holy Scripture, Professor Stanley has nothing but praise. Dr. Temple, it would appear, according to Professor Stanley, is censured only because he is misunderstood. Alas for the obtuseness of Dr. Moberly, Mr. Jelf, Mr. Burgon, Mr. Isaac Taylor, Dr. James Buchanan, and other individuals not less gifted and esteemed. Dr. Moberly has of all men made himself most clearly understood in his *Remarks on Essays and Reviews*, and is therefore the least likely to have failed in comprehending the nature and tendency of Dr. Temple's Essay. What is his judgment on that Essay? "The view which it suggests of the parallel between the education of the world and that of an individual man, is slight, fanciful, and obviously untrue if it be pressed seriously or far."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Creation in Plan and in Progress*, pp. 63—71. The reader would do well to consult this volume for the detail sub-

sequent to this quotation.

<sup>2</sup> *Some Remarks on 'Essays and Reviews,' being the Revised Preface to the*

What is the impression which Dr. Temple has left upon his readers, readers not inferior to himself in intelligence, some of them probably far before him in clearness of thought, logical acuteness, and scriptural knowledge? It is that man in this age of the world's history, the manhood of the race, is elevated to a sphere of inward illumination that is superior to and independent of the light of Revelation. And Professor Stanley, himself one of those who maintain that there are no essential differences amongst those who are called Christians, can scarcely be surprised if suspicion alight upon the writer of the following lines: "We read the New Testament, not to find there forms of devotion, for there are few to be found, nor laws of Church government, for there are hardly any, *nor creeds, for there are none*; nor doctrines logically stated, for there is no attempt at logical precision."<sup>1</sup> The sequel indicates the *animus of the writer, a readiness to sink the great peculiarities of Christian doctrine in a purely ethical system*, the spirit that misled Professor Stanley himself when he maintained from the pulpit that all saving doctrine was contained in the Sermon on the Mount.

Dr. Temple shares with his fellow-essayists in an undisguised contempt of the theology of the Christian system. Hence his puerile remarks upon the law of Moses.<sup>2</sup> Hence the inaccuracies in his forced comparison of the teaching of the law and the prophets;<sup>3</sup> hence probably his astonishing ignorance of ecclesiastical history as witnessed in his assertion "in all the doctrinal disputes of the fourth and fifth centuries the decisive voice came from Rome"<sup>4</sup> Hence his high commendations of the chastity<sup>5</sup> of that people whom our Lord himself denounced as a *wicked and adulterous generation*.<sup>6</sup> That the epithet *adulterous* was literally, and not only mystically applicable to the Jews, Dr. Temple might have seen from a book so easy of access as Whitby's *Commentary on the New Testament*.<sup>7</sup>

#### IV.

1. The exaggerations of the Rector of Lincoln College in his Essay against the Evidences of Christianity—for it deserves no better name—have been exposed in detail by my friend Mr. Candy.<sup>8</sup> The friendly disposition of Mr. Pattison towards

*Second Edition of 'Sermons on the Beatitudes,' by George Moberly, D.C.L., Head-Master of Winchester College. Oxford and London, Parker, 1861. (p. vi.)*

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Matt. 12. 39; 16. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Vol. i. p. 536, on John 8. 7. 6th edit. 1764. For more respecting Dr.

Temple's *Essay* the reader is referred to Mr. Burgon's able preface and to the Rev. W. E. Jelf's answer to the Essay. This Essay is not the first theological offence of its author. See note to p. ix. of Mr. Burgon's *Preface*.

<sup>8</sup> *The Antidote; or, an Examination of Mr. Pattison's Essay on the Tendencies of Religious Thought*, by the Rev. Thomas H. Candy, M.A., Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge. Cambridge, Deighton, Bell, and Co. 1861.



Christianity may be judged by his advocacy of the unscrupulous Toland, and his condemnation of Sherlock's *Trial of the Witnesses*.<sup>1</sup> Toland must no longer pass for a *Deist*, but for a *Socinian*. "Some of the so-called Deists," writes Mr. Pattison, "were in fact Socinians, as Toland, who expressly admits all those parts of the New Testament Revelation which are, or seem to him, comprehensible by reason. (*Christianity not Myste-rious*.) Nor is there any ground for thinking that Toland was insincere in his profession of rational Christianity, as was insinuated by his opponents, e. g. Leland. (*View of Deistical Writers*, vol. i. p. 49.<sup>2</sup>)" Do then the Socinians claim Spinoza for their own? Toland was not ashamed to misrepresent Moses himself as a precursor of his Atheistic philosophy and as an impostor.<sup>3</sup> Accordingly the learned Carpzov, in his *Introductio ad Libros Canonicos Veteris Testamenti*, does not hesitate to describe Toland thus: "Ioannes Tolandus, gente Anglus, religione Spinosista vel Latitudinarius certe, ne quid dicam atrocius."<sup>4</sup> He scoffed at the immortality of the soul, and impudently affirmed that it was derived from the superstitious regard of the Egyptians for their dead.<sup>5</sup> So much for Mr. Pattison's Christian Deism! "Those *Christian Deists*, who, like Toland or Collins, approached most nearly in their belief to Revelation (!) were treated not better, but worse, by the orthodox champions; their larger admissions being imputed to disingenuousness or calculated reserve."<sup>6</sup>

2. It was but a just retribution that a clergyman and a teacher of Christian youth, who could so far forget himself as to sneer at Butler's *Analogy*,<sup>7</sup> should be permitted to degrade himself by the vindication of the most contemptible of the opponents of the faith which he professes. Surely Professor Stanley must have been nodding when he expressed a desire, in his infelicitous Review, for a full-length portrait of Bishop Butler from the hands of Mr. Pattison.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 258.

<sup>3</sup> *Origines Judaicæ*, § 6. Referring indeed to Strabo: "illud tamen non tantum non refellit, sed potius subindicat hanc sibi nequaquam displicere."—Joh. Fr. Stapferi *Institt. Theol.* tom. 2, p. 597. Toland edited Spinoza, and "took much pains to establish the pantheistic principles of Spinoza."—Bp. Van Mildert's *Boyle Lectures*, vol. i. Serm. 10, p. 358.

<sup>4</sup> L. Joh. Gottlob Carpzovii *Introd. ad Libros V. T.* Lipsiæ, 1721, p. 470; and see Joh. Fr. Stapferi *Institt. Theol.* tom. 2, pp. 596, 597. Tiguri, 1744.

<sup>5</sup> Toland's *Second Letter to the Queen of Prussia*. See Stapfer, tom. 2, p. 602. "An crassiori aut apertiori quâdam ratione unquam aliquis inter Christianos

atheismum suum prodiderit, quam Ioannes Tolandus, et ob impietatem hodiè notissimus, valde dubito." *Buddæus de Atheismo et Superstit.* c. 1, § 27, p. 194. Of this infamous person every reader can form his own opinion by a writer so accessible as Mosheim. See his *Ecc. Hist.* Cent. 17, pp. 50—52, 59, ed. Maclaine by Coote, 1826.

<sup>6</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 301.

<sup>7</sup> "His term of comparison, the 'constitution and course of nature,' is not what we should understand by that term; not what science can disclose to us of the laws of the *cosmos*, but a narrow observation of what men do in ordinary life," p. 294. This is not description, but caricature.

<sup>8</sup> "We wish that the learned author

3. What is the Christianity of Mr. Pattison, the advocate of Toland and the depreciator and caricaturist of Butler, is meanwhile an enigma. He owns to this great point of the negative theology, that the Atonement is *not* the central point of the Christian religion. It is, according to him, the self-constituted badge of a party! "It too (the Evangelical school) drew out its rational 'scheme of Christianity,' in which the Atonement was made the central point of a system."<sup>1</sup> I will conclude my remarks upon the writer of this Essay with an inference which Professor Stanley will in vain endeavour to controvert, that the Christianity of Mr. Pattison, such as it is, is neither the Christianity of the Scriptures nor of the Christian Church.<sup>2</sup>

## V.

1. Having been some time at Merchant Taylor's with Mr. Wilson, I took an early opportunity of perusing his *Bampton Lectures*. I wonder not that he then met with a sympathizing admirer in Professor Stanley. That volume was the harbinger of the Essay. Its theology was decidedly of the negative kind common to the *Essays and Reviews*, and the opposite to which is in the eyes of Professor Stanley *sectarianism*. Of sectarianism properly so called, Professor Stanley has appeared as an advocate in the pulpit of Canterbury Cathedral.

2. Professor Stanley has accordingly thought fit to eulogise Mr. Wilson's Essay as "a powerful, though often rash, defence of the principle of a national church as opposed to that of sectarianism. And are Mr. Wilson and Professors Jowett and Stanley so blind to the signs of the times as to believe that the English people would ever tolerate a religious establishment, the avowed teaching of which was the Socinianized, and worse than Socinianized, teaching of the *Essays and Reviews*? What is the present state of Unitarianism? It may be gathered from the complaints which Dr. John Relly Beard, the leader of Manchester Unitarianism, finds himself compelled to utter, of the lukewarmness of those who profess his scanty creed. From

had brought out more prominently the individual divines of this period. Butler, especially, deserved a far more elaborate and comprehensive treatment." *Edinb. Rev.* April 1861, p. 478. "However 'depressing to the soul' (p. 293) of Mr. Pattison, it" (the *Analogy*) "is nevertheless a book which will invigorate Faith, and brighten Hope, and comfort Charity herself, long after the spot where he and I shall sleep has been forgotten; long after our very names will be hard to find."—Rev. J. W. Burgon's *Inspiration and Interpretation. Preliminary Remarks*, p. cxxviii.

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 260.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Pattison gives the following judgment upon the Church of which he nevertheless continues to profess himself a member: "In the present day, nothing is allowed in the Church of England but the formulæ of past thinkings, which have long lost all sense of any kind." *Essays and Reviews*, p. 267. I will not ask, is it sensible in Mr. Pattison, but is it honest to continue in a communion so intolerably burdened and so inadequately fitted for the great ends of its constitution, as it must needs be, if such an imputation is just?

his words we may judge of the popularity of that system which is so much nearer the views of the Essayists than the Liturgy, Creeds, and Articles of their own Church. "It is however a simple and undeniable fact that Unitarians are unsectarian. So unsectarian are they that some foolishly, almost superstitiously, fear sectarianism. I have known the fear close their lips, paralyse their hands, *empty their places of worship*, and famish their institutions."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Beard then urges upon his Unitarian brethren *a manly avowal* of their convictions.<sup>2</sup> It is well known that from time to time not a few of the most intelligent and wealthy members of the Unitarian congregations at Manchester come over to the Church of England. It is also undeniable that the teaching of the Socinian theology of Mr. Davies at Marylebone has only disgusted the mass of his congregation; and that the very circumstance that such anti-christian teachers are permitted to violate the sacred trust reposed in them, of dispensing the Word of Life in the pale of the established Church, has awakened the laity to the necessity of a reform of our ecclesiastical law, that the Church may no longer be compelled to witness such dishonesty, such a flagrant disregard of the most sacred obligations on the part of her clergy. It is indeed high time that such stumbling-blocks in the way of our common Christianity should be removed.

3. Even Professor Stanley finds himself compelled to complain of the *extreme statements* of Mr. Wilson.<sup>3</sup> His protest indeed is marred by his ambiguous language in regard of one of the most unscrupulous of German innovators. "Conclusions arrived at by the life-long labours of a great German theologian are pitchforked into the face of an English public, who never heard of them before, with hardly a shred of argument to clothe their repulsive forms."<sup>4</sup> Professor Stanley subjoins in a note: "Such is Mr. Wilson's statement respecting the date of the fourth gospel (p. 116), and that the taking of Jerusalem by Shishak is for the Hebrew history that which the sacking of Rome by the Gauls is for the Roman (p. 170). This last assertion, wholly unsupported by argument, is, not only according to our humble belief, but according to the whole tenor of the great work of Ewald, equally untenable in its negative and positive aspect." Professor Stanley should have gone deeper into the grounds of all this unhallowed tampering with Scriptural truth and sacred criticism. What right have men, who outrage as well the morality as the theology of their age and nation, to claim to be heard at all upon the subject of religion? With what system of morals is Mr. Wilson's special pleading on the subject of subscription to the Articles com-

<sup>1</sup> *Why am I a Unitarian?* p. 65. 2nd edit. Lond. Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1860.

<sup>2</sup> p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* p. 479.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 474.

patible? The profession of Christianity is itself a mockery in one who presumes to avow that the Son of God, as a revealer of truth, would have suited his mission far more to the necessities of the world had he appeared eastward of the Roman empire than within its boundaries. "If we could be judges of the necessity for a special divine intervention, the stronger necessity existed in the east. There immense populations, like the Chinese, had never developed the idea of a personal God,"<sup>1</sup> &c. The idea of the beloved Son of God having come as a Redeemer is similarly undeveloped in Mr. Wilson's theology. The Gospel of St. John he asperses as a less faithful record than that of the other Evangelists; nay, he will not have it to be the undoubted work of that Apostle!<sup>2</sup> It is possible that he has sufficient discernment to perceive that *there is no doctrine in any other portion of Holy Scripture but may be found there in the very words of our Lord Himself*. Mr. Wilson's statements respecting this Gospel are, like many others both in this and in the other Essays, of the most reckless description. Equally dishonest is his avowal that with St. Paul the denial of the resurrection was compatible with the Christian religion and tolerated in the Christian Church.<sup>3</sup> It was nothing with Mr. Wilson that he read, in that truly memorable chapter, the fifteenth of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, "But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen: and if Christ be not risen, *then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain.*"

I will not follow Mr. Wilson through that tissue of blasphemous impieties, but thinly veiled, by which he endeavours to bring the Old Testament into discredit, directly representing it as comprising a collection of fables only worthy of contempt. I refer to a passage too profane to quote, beginning with, "Under the terms of the sixth article,"<sup>4</sup> and to the note to

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 156.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 161. Hengstenberg is said, in a very recent number of the *Evangelische Kirchen-Zeitung*, to have characterized the *Essays and Reviews* as "the echo of German unbelief." This may be clearly traced by the English reader in my excellent friend the Rev. John Henry Rose's Answer to Dr. Rowland Williams, in the *Replies to Essays and Reviews*; and in my fellow-collegian's (Mr. Cooke's) masterly *Essay on Ideology* in the *Aids to Faith*. The unbelief of Germany is traced back by Dr. Wordsworth to our own English Deists in the first of his *Lectures on the Interpretation of the Bible*; and the original type of all this irrationality is derived from the ancient heresies by the Bishop of Llandaff in his very valuable *Charge of August 1857*, pp. 36, 66, 67.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 163, 164. "Such is not

the conclusion which we draw from the case of Hymenæus and Alexander, whom the Apostle delivered to Satan (the same sentence as that pronounced in the case of the Corinthian fornicator—one which, whatever might be its effect, undoubtedly amounts to excommunication) *that they might learn not to blaspheme* (1 Tim. 1. 20); nor from that of Hymenæus and Philetus (2 Tim. 2. 17), which is even more immediately to the point, *who erred concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is already past*,—unless indeed we presume that St. Paul allowed their word to eat as doth a canker, and to overthrow the faith of his converts without using the power given to him by the Lord for the protection of the weak brethren for whom Christ died."—Rev. F. C. Cook's *Essay on Ideology and Subscription*, p. 170. *Aids to Faith*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 177.

page 170, in which the veracity and certainty of a considerable portion of the Scriptures, including the whole of the Pentateuch, is treated as a mass of legends beneath the consideration of that band of intellectual readers, for the sake of whom Mr. Wilson has come forward as the advocate of rational religion against Revelation.<sup>1</sup>

## VI.

1. And now, my Lord, I come to Dr. Rowland Williams, in regard of whom I cannot but take this opportunity of expressing a deep personal interest, as one who was not always in the position in which he has chosen to stand for the last few years. Time was when he eloquently and touchingly defended truths which he has since relinquished, and in some instances opposed. No reader, who is possessed of genuine feeling and who can appreciate the highest excellencies of a style truly imaginative and poetic, can read Dr. Williams' *Rational Godliness* unmoved. A Christian reader will, whilst he grieves over many a page in that volume of discourses, yet regard its author in a far different light from those who have never evinced any deep religious feeling, and who appear to have been all along strangers to all devout communings with the eternal world. I have no sympathy with such, if there are any such, who, to use Professor Stanley's words, seek "to make capital out of these writers." If it were so, I should not have written thus sorrowfully respecting the changes which have unhappily taken place in the mind of Dr. Rowland Williams. On the other hand, I do not conceal my indignation at the recklessness of Mr. Wilson, the levity of Professor Jowett, his theological levity, and the unfairness, and worse than unfairness, the flagrant injustice of Professor Stanley in the instance of Bishop Thirlwall, and my greatly valued friends Dr. Jelf and Professor Mansel.

In 1855 Dr. Rowland Williams (at that time B.D.) published the volume of sermons entitled, *Rational Godliness after the Mind of Christ, and the written Voices of His Church*. In this volume the author has himself enabled us to compare his mind and state of feeling in various stages from 1847 to 1855. Upon the nature of sin, the need of an atonement, the influences of the Holy Spirit, the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and of the Scriptures as the law of the Church, notwithstanding many observations respecting various portions of Holy Scripture and the inspiration of the Scriptures that are utterly inadmissible

<sup>1</sup> Those who would see more of Mr. Wilson are referred to the admirable remarks of Dr. Moberly in the second edition of his *Revised Prefaces*, pp. viii. ix. x. xiv. xv. xvi. xvii. xviii. xix. xx. xxiii.

—xxv.; and to the exposure of his inconsistency as a college tutor, in the *Quarterly Review*, in the article on *Essays and Reviews*.



and opposed to the divine authority of the Scriptures, many things are admirably said with power and seriousness altogether unlike anything that is to be found in the *Essays and Reviews*, or in the other works of their several authors. In his own Essay, alas! we only recognise the author of these sermons by their blemishes, and by the deviations which they unfold step by step from his own earlier opinions.

Professor Jowett, Mr. Davies of Marylebone, and others, impugn the doctrine of our redemption as being against the instincts of our moral nature, and contrary to the divine benevolence. Not so Dr. Williams in these sermons. In opposition to these shallow thinkers, and in a sermon in which the mystery of the Holy Trinity is maintained upon the basis of the three Creeds<sup>1</sup> and of the Scripture, we have the following in page 251: "The assertion above ventured upon, that our doctrine of the Trinity is nothing more than is required to bind together the Scriptural facts of our Redemption by Christ, has often been proved; but perhaps by no one better than by Jones of Nayland. It will indeed be clear, upon consideration, that there is no essential or practical portion of our faith which has not some point of junction, or contact with this doctrine. Is the certainty of dying always before us? It is the Son who, by dying for us, has taken the sting of death away. Do we expect to be judged? It is the Father who has committed all judgment into the hands of the Son. Do we acknowledge a propitiatory sacrifice<sup>2</sup> necessary to make reconciliation between the conscience of man and the dread purity of his Maker? Then must the victim be one not himself participant of any human spot, but with a nature higher than any human nature; and we have already seen he took not on him the nature of angels. Or do we require a constant mediator and intercessor? Who shall go up for us into the holy of holies not made with hands, but he who came down from thence; or who shall reconcile the Creator and the creature, save he who hath taken of the divine compassion and the human sorrow, blending them with awful harmony into one?"<sup>3</sup>

One who has written thus, who has stirred the hearts of others, and that as few besides could touch the hearts of his brethren, has a claim, a peculiar claim upon the prayers of

<sup>1</sup> Of the Athanasian Creed, see p. 269; of the two other Creeds, p. 250.

<sup>2</sup> In page 33 Dr. Williams, alluding to the human sacrifices offered by our British ancestors, observes, "Or again, it may be considered an unconscious prophecy among the heathen of a more perfect oblation to be offered." The whole of this passage, where these words are preceded by "some persons may remark, that such a ritual of blood savours of

Moloch; whilst others may take pleasure in comparing it rather with the trial of faith, when the Patriarch withheld not from Jehovah, his Son, even his only Son whom he loved," p. 33, stands in strong contrast with that in p. 61 of the *Essays and Reviews*, "when the fierce ritual of Syria with the awe of a divine voice bade Abraham slay his son," &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Rational Godliness*, pp. 251, 252.

fraternal and Christian solicitude. It is true that he has evinced a waywardness and unsettledness of both mind and heart that have tended to convert his friends into foes, and that have marred his own usefulness and tarnished his reputation as a Christian scholar and divine. It was with sadness that I traced one and another indication of his rashness in the pages of a volume so abounding with passages the very reverse of those which he appears himself to sanction in his review of the *Biblical Researches* of my late lamented friend the Chevalier Bunsen. That eminent person had especial claims upon my very grateful and affectionate regard. He, unsolicited, endeavoured to obtain for me a living in the time of the late Lord Truro's Chancellorship. But I loved him too well to flatter him, and warmly as he from his natural temperament stood up in behalf of his own opinions, I believe that his personal attachment to myself and to others was not diminished by our faithful adherence to those truths which have ever enjoyed the testimony both of the Scriptures and of the Christian Church.

2. And now I proceed to the painful task of noting those unhappy aberrations from the path of light and truth, the first indications of which are, I believe, to be found in Dr. Williams' otherwise admirable volume of sermons entitled *Rational Godliness*.

And here I cannot pass over an error, a great and unhappily practical error in judgment, into which not only Dr. Williams has fallen, but Deans Alford and Ellicott, and some by far their superiors—an over-estimation of that school of critics who have revived the critical system of Griesbach, but without even his caution, moderate as it was, notwithstanding its complete exposure in his own time. Dr. Williams lauds the judgment of Dr. Tregelles, onesided and shallow as is that judgment. So we find Professors Stanley and Jowett commending the inconsistent and unreliable labours of Lachmann. I am glad to take this opportunity of calling attention to the danger and folly of this innovating spirit in some of our modern critics and commentators, by far inferior in this as well as in other departments to some, whom for a generation or two they may peradventure displace. My indefatigable and critically accomplished friend, the Rev. Fred. H. Scrivener, has estimated both Lachmann and Tischendorf at their real value in his Preface to his edition of the Greek Testament, printed at the University Press, Cambridge, in 1860.

Professor Stanley is confessedly a *word-painter*. But the word-painter can never resist the temptation of becoming like that hollow idol of our age the late Lord Macaulay, a *painter of things*, in whose hands history becomes fiction, whilst truth is sacrificed to the bias of the author and the fleeting fashion of the public. In his Preface to his Commentary on St. Paul's

Epistles to the Corinthians, he undertakes to paint Lachmann's truly original and imaginary text of the New Testament, "the authentic text," says Professor Stanley, "of the first three centuries."<sup>1</sup> Lachmann would have complained that he was thus abridged of the reputation of his labours, which were designed at least to represent the text of the New Testament at the end of the *fourth* century. To reproduce this text Lachmann has recourse to A, B, and C, the Codex Vaticanus, the Codex Alexandrinus, and the Codex Ephreми. These are the leading MSS. of his edition. What is the result? "Whilst," says Professor Stanley, "on the one hand the differences between this and the received text very rarely affect the sense, on the other hand they materially increase the force and simplicity of the style." He might have said the *barbarousness*. "And," he adds, "it is this consideration which to one unskilled in MSS. is the most convincing proof of their antiquity." It is well known that the several MSS. upon which some build the Itala version are written in the most unclassical of styles, the everyday language of the most uneducated of the Romans. But this is no proof of the accuracy of their translations. "There is," says Professor Stanley, "a rudeness in form, an abruptness in construction, a vivacity in expression, which convey an irresistible impression of primitive originality, analogous to that which is produced by an ancient edifice compared with a modern imitation." On the other hand, whosoever will be at the trouble of comparing the notable MSS. A and B, as far as they are available to the general reader, will perceive indeed a directly opposite style; that of B if abrupt, yet a studied abruptness as unnatural and as really defective as that of the Codex Alexandrinus is natural and simple. There is no certainty with respect to the very high antiquity of either of these MSS. But one thing is certain, that in very numerous instances, probably in far more than half, where the Codex Vaticanus is against, the Codex Alexandrinus is with the *textus receptus*.

Professor Stanley supposes A, B, and C to belong to the 5th century.<sup>2</sup> What is their testimony respecting Matt. 19. 17? Parallel to this are Mark 10. 18, 19, and Luke 18. 18, 19. The *textus receptus* is the same in each gospel. And with the *textus receptus* agrees the Codex Ephreми. Nay, Origen, the *only* Father whose testimony Lachmann admits, (for he capriciously puts St. Chrysostom out of the *fourth* century,) acknowledges the existence of the received reading in his time, although he countenances that of the Codex Vaticanus. Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles all demur to the testimony of St. Peter an ear-witness, and to the testimony of St. Luke's informant, and for the sake of Origen and B, put into St. Matthew's gospel words which are utterly irreconcilable with those of SS. Mark

<sup>1</sup> Second edit. p. xiv.

<sup>2</sup> Preface, p. xv.

and Luke. So patent a proof of the rashness and incapacity of the Griesbachian and Lachmann school ought to have been a warning to our Stanleys, our Jowetts, and others, who would introduce, by the names of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, an infinitely more corrupt text than that which it has recently been the custom to depreciate, whilst its very history has been subjected to considerable misrepresentation.<sup>1</sup>

## VII.

### THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

The first decided indication of that unhappy unsettledness of judgment under which Dr. Rowland Williams appears to labour, appears in a note to his second sermon: "In using the illustration of Daniel, I did not mean to pledge myself to any critical opinion as to the date of the book, or as to questions depending on the date."<sup>2</sup>

This is followed up in his Essay by an evident unanimity of feeling and sentiment with the late Chevalier Bunsen and others, as respects this book. "In the case of Daniel, he may doubt whether all parts of the book are of one age, or what is the starting-point of the seventy weeks; but two results are clear beyond fair doubt, that the period of weeks ended in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, and that those portions of the book, supposed to be specially predictive, are a history of past occurrences up to that reign."<sup>3</sup> This is a virtual rejection of the book of Daniel, and of Daniel as a prophet. And this is nothing short of a denial of our Lord's own words, who refers this very prophecy of the seventy weeks to a period posterior to that of his own ministry: *When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place, (whoso readeth, let him understand :) then let them which be in Judæa flee into the mountains,* Matt. 24. 15, 16; Mark 13. 14.<sup>4</sup> The most eminent masters of Jewish learning follow up the testimony of the prophet Ezekiel (14. 14; 18. 2; 23. 3), with the acknowledgment of Daniel's prophetic character. So the author of the first Book of Maccabees, who in chap. 1, ver. 54, quotes from Dan. 12. 11, *the abomination of desolation*, being a slight variation of the *abomination that maketh desolate*; and in chap. 2, vv. 59, 60, authenticates the first six chapters of his book, the very chapters rejected by Coleridge, Eichhorn, and Hezel.<sup>5</sup> If any of my readers will refer to Hengstenberg's *Dis-*

<sup>1</sup> See my *Memorials of the Life and Works of Bp. Andrewes*, pp. 280—343.

<sup>2</sup> *Rational Godliness*, p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 69.

<sup>4</sup> See Dan. 9. 24—27.

<sup>5</sup> "In the first and second editions of

his *Einleitung ins A. T.*, he ventured to reject only the first six chapters; the genuineness of the last six was defended by him in glaring contradiction to the system which he had even then adopted. He was followed by Hezel. According

sertations on the Genuineness of Daniel, they may farther prosecute the testimony of the Apocryphal author to the genuineness of the 11th and 12th chapters of Daniel. It is the conclusion of Hengstenberg that the author of the first book of Maccabees aimed, in various passages of that book, to point out to his readers the fulfilment of those two chapters of Daniel in the Maccabæan times.<sup>1</sup> Josephus himself interpreted the book of Daniel as did our Lord: his words are, "Daniel predicted also the Roman supremacy, and that our country should be desolated by them."<sup>2</sup>

John Henry Hottinger, in his *Thesaurus Philologicus*,<sup>3</sup> a work highly regarded by competent scholars both here and in Germany,<sup>4</sup> adduces the triple testimony of Maimonides, Joseph Jachiades, and Abrabanel.<sup>5</sup> Jachiades junior, who flourished in the 13th century, wrote a commentary on this book, which was published at Amsterdam in 1633.<sup>6</sup> Jachiades indeed ascribes the book in its present state, after the opinion of the Talmudists,<sup>7</sup> to the Great Synagogue. "Nothing, however," says Hengstenberg, "was farther from the thoughts of the Talmudists than to assert the spuriousness of those writings, the penning of which they ascribe to the men of the Great Synagogue. The supposition is quite irreconcilable with the great reverence they cherish towards those men, whom consequently they would never have thought of charging with an imposition. They supposed rather that the contents of these books became known to the men of the Great Synagogue, partly by accurate tradition, partly by fresh inspiration—for they had several prophets among them, (compare the passages in *Aurivillius de Synagogâ Magnâ Dissert.* p. 147), and were by them committed to writing without any mistake. As the ground of this erroneous opinion, Jarchi on this passage of the Talmud mentions, in reference to Ezekiel and Daniel, and no doubt correctly, the Jewish conceit, that no sacred book could be composed beyond the limits of the Holy Land. The correctness of this ground, which must also be extended to the book of Esther,<sup>8</sup> is manifest from the cir-

to him the first six chapters were at some later period prefixed as an introduction to the second and genuine part, and contain much that is fabulous."—*Dissertations on the Genuineness of Daniel, and the Integrity of Zechariah*, by Dr. E. W. Hengstenberg, Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin. Translated from the German by B. P. Pratten, p. 6. Clark, Edinb. 1847.

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph. *Antiq.* l. 10, c. 11, § 7. Δανιήλος καὶ περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίας ἀνέγραψε, καὶ ὅτι ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐρημωθήσεται. See more in Hengstenberg, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> Zurich, 1659.

<sup>4</sup> See *Introduction to the O. T.*, by H.

A. Ch. Hävernack, late Teacher of Theology in the University of Königsberg, translated from the German by Wm. Lindsay Alexander, D.D., p. 10. Edinb. Clark, 1852.

<sup>5</sup> *Thes. Philol.* p. 505. And see J. G. Carpzov's *Introd. ad V. T.*

<sup>6</sup> *Paraphrasis Dni Josephi Jachiadæ in Danielem cum Versione et Annotationibus Constantini L'Empereur ab Oppyk.* Amstel. 1633. 4to.

<sup>7</sup> *Thes. Philol.* p. 506.

<sup>8</sup> On the Book of Esther, and its general ascription to Mordecai by both Jews and Christians, see J. B. Carpzov, *Introd. ad V. T.* Pars 1, p. 351. Lipsiæ, 1721.



cumstance, that just those three books are placed together whose authors lived out of Palestine. The correctness of the ground adduced by Jarchi in reference to the Minor Prophets is more doubtful."<sup>1</sup>

This topic is farther handled by Bartolocci in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinnica* (tom. 2, p. 302), and by L'Empereur in his edition of *Jachiades on Daniel* (p. 6).

2. But for that marvellous depreciation of the learning of their predecessors, which is the fashion of certain scholars both here and on the continent, it would have been deemed incredible that an objection should be raised against the book of Daniel on the ground of its having been reckoned in the Jewish Canon amongst the Hagiographa. The objection indeed is helped out by a *new theory* respecting the Hagiographa, that this class of books was not compiled until long after the time of Ezra. This, which is the theory of De Wette, and which brings down the completion of the Canon to about B.C. 150, is in direct opposition to Jewish tradition.

The student will do well to acquaint himself with the history of the Canon as it is given in Havernick's *General Introduction to the Old Testament*, to which reference has been already made. He will there find that the three classes of the sacred books were arranged according to their authors, and their authors again classed according to their offices, and not their prophetic gifts. Hence David as a king, and Daniel as a courtier, rank amongst the Hagiographa.<sup>2</sup>

3. In the *Essays and Reviews* Dr. Williams appeals to the use of foreign words in the book of Daniel as a proof of its recent origin. *Symphonia* and *psanterion* are, he says, Macedonian words.<sup>3</sup> Havernick remarks on the other hand: "In the book of Daniel, Grecisms have also been discovered, which however cannot be proved to be such (compare my Commentary, pp. 20, 88, 472, &c); only the names of certain musical instruments which are mentioned (chap. 3) are by recent enquirers held to be of Greek origin; but this also is subject to the gravest doubt, and it is possible to adduce for the words in question very good etymologies from the Semitic (see my Comment. p. 105). Though it may be admitted that by means of the relations which, antecedent to the Persian era, subsisted between Greece and Hither Asia, Greek words were naturalized there (see my Comment. p. 102; compare Rosenmuller's *Scholia in Daniel*. p. 14), it cannot be denied that in a linguistic aspect the influence of the East upon Greece was felt rather than the

<sup>1</sup> Hengstenberg, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup> That the present arrangement of the Hagiographa is comparatively recent and above three centuries from the commencement of the Christian era, is shewn

in the 12th section of Professor Moses Stuart's *Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon*, ed. by the Rev. Peter Lorimer. Lond. Tegg, 1849.

<sup>3</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 76.

converse: and in point of fact we must, for the reasons assigned, deny the existence of Greek words in any of the Hebrew documents now extant."<sup>1</sup>

*Psanterion* is derived from פֶּסֶם the extreme part of the hand (Dan. 5. 5, 24) and נָתַר to spring, to skip;<sup>2</sup> and *symphonia* is also of eastern origin. There is yet in use in Syria and Asia Minor, observes Havernick, a musical instrument called the *Sambonja*.<sup>3</sup> And so it is translated in Luther's Bible, as a class of musical instruments, *symphonien*. Grotius, Drusius, Eichhorn, and Bertholdt would derive פֶּרְתִּימִים from the Greek παράτιμος, πρότιμος. But Jahn, Gesenius (*Gesch. d. hebr. Spr.*), and Van Bohler (*Symbol. ad Interp. s. cod. e ling. Pers.* p. 20), with the older authorities Hottinger (*Smegm. Orient.* I. p. 77), Louis le Dieu, and Pfeiffer (*Dubia vexata*, p. 796), derive it from the Persian *Pardomim*.<sup>4</sup>

4. When Dr. Williams, by way of proving the book of Daniel a forgery, says, "not only the minute description of Antiochus' reign, but the stoppage of such description at the precise date, 169 B.C., remove all philological and critical doubt as to the age of the book"<sup>5</sup> he first only renews the objection of the unbelieving Porphyry, and next ventures on a point of chronology with which the opponents of this book are not agreed. Bleek conjectures that the three last chapters were composed immediately after the news of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes.<sup>6</sup>

## VIII.

### ANCIENT CHRONOLOGY.—EGYPT.

Dr. Rowland Williams treats his readers to a host of conjectures in order to win them over to his own extravagant admiration of the late Chevalier Bunsen and his various theories.<sup>7</sup> He would have us reject with him the historical portions of Genesis previously to the history of Abraham; whereas the best informed ethnologists are agreed in the marvellous evidence by which the tenth chapter of Genesis is substantiated as the ground of all true ethnology. As such it is remarkably verified in Professor Knobel's *Völker-Tafel*.<sup>8</sup> The veriest fancies are alleged to throw discredit upon the genealogies of the patriarchs.<sup>9</sup> We are required to place the

<sup>1</sup> Havernick's *General Introduction to the Old Testament*, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Havernick *On Daniel*, p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> See farther, Havernick before cited and Hengstenberg, c. 2, § 1, 2. On *Greek words* and alleged impurity of the Hebrew.

<sup>5</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 78.

<sup>6</sup> See Hengstenberg, p. 290. And see Mr. Rose's *Essay in Replies to Essays and Reviews*, p. 115.

<sup>7</sup> See *Essays and Reviews*, pp. 54, 55.

<sup>8</sup> *Die Völkertafel der Genesis*. Giessen, 1850.

<sup>9</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 56. These were similarly attacked in the late Dr. Donaldson's *Protestant Principles Vindi-*

Exodus "as late as 1320 or 1314." On the other hand, the Hebrew chronology gives, according to Ussher, B.C. 1491; according to that truly Christian scholar, Henry Fynes Clinton, B.C. 1625.<sup>1</sup> For this alteration Manetho is alleged as given in Josephus.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile Moses is regarded as an inferior authority to the "dynastic records of the Ptolemaic priest Manetho."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Rowland Williams, following the earlier works of Sir Gardiner Wilkinson, maintains that Pharaoh was not made a signal monument of the divine displeasure, but survived the Exodus, in spite of both Moses and the Psalmist. We read in the 14th chapter of Exodus that Moses followed after the Israelites with his army, and we cannot doubt therefore that he shared in the same destruction. *Pharaoh*

Of the Chevalier Bunsen's *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, "the result, if we can receive it," says Dr. Williams, "is to vindicate for the civilized kingdom of Egypt, from Menes downward, an antiquity of nearly four thousand years before Christ."<sup>4</sup> Menes is placed at 3643 B.C. Menes has, on the other hand, been regarded as one of "those mythical founders of empires of whom ancient history presents so many examples."<sup>5</sup> Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, in his *Horæ Ægyptiacæ*,<sup>6</sup> has placed Menes some few hundred years before the Flood! The date of the Deluge is, according to Ussher, B.C. 2348; according to Mr. Clinton, 2482; according to Mr. Poole, B.C. 2717. Again, Proteus and Menes have been identified. "His reign commenced a short time after the Argonautic expedition, and about 40 years before the destruction of Troy, and it continued some years after that event."<sup>7</sup> So the late Rev. Charles Crosthwaite, in his very valuable *Synchronology*. Proteus succeeded Horus the son of Sesostris, who were the two last of the gods who were supposed to have reigned over Egypt. Horus was the Apollo of the Greeks, the brother of Diana or Bubaste, the children of Osiris and Isis.<sup>8</sup> Before Sesostris was Tothmosis,

cated, who herein followed Ewald. Of Ewald, see Bishop Thirlwall's *Letter to Dr. Rowland Williams*, pp. 67, 68. 2nd edit.

<sup>1</sup> *Epitome of the Chronology of Greece*, p. 128. Oxf. 1851.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, pp. 58, 59.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 54, comp. with p. 59.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 54.

<sup>5</sup> *Quarterly Review*, p. 387, vol. 105. Lond. 1859.

<sup>6</sup> *Appendix*, p. 219. "Of the ancient authorities who have written concerning the affairs of Egypt, the following are considered the most respectable:

Herodotus of Halicarnassus, flourished . . . . . B.C. 445  
Manetho, priest of Heliopolis . . . . . 261

B.C.  
Eratosthenes, keeper of the Alexandrian library, died, aged 82 . . . . . 194  
Diodorus Siculus . . . . . 44

A.D.  
Josephus . . . . . 93  
Africanus . . . . . 222  
Eusebius . . . . . 325  
Syncellus, a Byzantine historian (Clinton). 808

—Crosthwaite's *Synchronology*, p. 109.

<sup>7</sup> *Synchronology, being a Treatise on the History, Chronology, and Mythology of the Ancient Egyptians, Greeks and Phœnicians*, p. 248. Camb. University Press, 1849.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 189—191.

who from his African conquests was worshipped with the idolatrous title of Baal or Belus. He was the son of Miphra or Miphra-Muthosis, "who appears to have been father-in-law to Solomon. Not satisfied with his hereditary dominions, he invaded Philistia, which he conquered about B.C. 1006. He gave Askelon to his son-in-law Solomon, and it appears that he gave the remainder of the country to one of his own sons named Agenor or Cepheus, a prince often mentioned by Greek writers."<sup>1</sup> Miphra-Muthosis was the fourth in succession from Aseth or Asis or Tutmosis, who expelled the last of the Shepherd Kings, Arcles or Certus, from Egypt about B.C. 1070, and about 180 years before the destruction of Troy.<sup>2</sup>

"Arcles, thus expelled from Egypt, made his way into Phœnicia, where he founded the noble city of Tyre, at a place repeatedly noted in Scripture as the strong-hold of Tzur צור (Josh. 19. 29: 2 Sam. 25. 7). He became famous as the Tyrian Arcles or Hercules, likewise called Melc-Cartus (or Certus) the first great navigator.

"At the same time others of the expelled chiefs formed settlements in different countries.

"Inachus led a party of adventurers to Greece, and founded the kingdom of Argos in Peloponnesus, where his descendants long reigned."<sup>3</sup>

"Cecrops, a native of Sais, settled in Attica, where this Egyptian colony was at first called Cecropia, and comprised several villages; these were afterwards consolidated by Theseus into one city, which received the name of Athens.

"Lelex, another of these emigrant chiefs, led his followers to the southern part of Peloponnesus, and founded the famous state of Sparta by the river Eurotas, in the country afterwards called Laconia."<sup>4</sup>

Mr. Poole in this instance remarkably confirms the conclusions of Mr. Crosthwaite, although he, with probably far less accuracy, places the expulsion of the Shepherd Kings at between B.C. 1440 and 1340. In the second part of his *Horæ Egyptiacæ* he observes: "Many writers of modern times have rejected all the remarkable traditions of the ancient Greeks respecting their early connexion with Egypt as undeserving of the serious consideration of the learned. That there is much of fable in the early Greek traditions cannot be denied; but it is certain, in my opinion, that there is much truth respecting the colonization of Greece contained in those traditions, upon which I must here remark. All the traditions of a nation are not necessarily false because mixed up with mythological fables.

"The origin of the several Greek kingdoms is involved

<sup>1</sup> *Synchronology*, p. 245. Of Cepheus see Knobel's *Völkertafel*, pp. 251, 252.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> See pp. 84, 85.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 241.

in great obscurity. It has been supposed that that of Sicyon<sup>1</sup> commenced in the 21st century B.C., and that of Argos about the middle of the 19th century." We have already seen that the founding of this kingdom is placed by Mr. Crosthwaite at the far more probable date of 1070 B.C.<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Poole proceeds: "The most remarkable of the colonizing tribes were the Pelasgi,<sup>3</sup> whose name unfortunately does not enable us to say what was their race. Homer makes mention of them as auxiliaries of the Trojans coming from Larissa.<sup>4</sup> With respect to this and the other tribes which colonized Greece, (for they must have been several tribes, not one,) of which the Greek traditions speak, one thing is certain, that these traditions make them either Egyptians, or a people intimately connected with Egypt and Palestine. It is evident also that the ancient Greeks made no distinction between the Egyptians and the Shepherds. We also find that they knew nothing of the previous history of these tribes; or rather, nothing more than that they came from Egypt or Phœnicia. This is shewn by the confusion of personifications with persons. The traditions respecting Danaus furnish an example of this. He is called the brother of Ægyptus and son of Belus, and by his mother the grandson of Nilus. Belus is a mythical personage, a deified traditional king of the Babylonians; and here it seems probable that he typifies a race."<sup>5</sup>

Mr. Crosthwaite has shewn that Danaus was the same with Thoth, Armais, or Hermes, the Mercury of the Romans and the Pluto and Plutus of the Greeks, the youngest brother of Osiris, and the third son of Tothmosis, who was called Belus upon his being made an object of idolatrous worship.<sup>6</sup>

To return to Mr. Poole: "From the time at which the migrations from Egypt to Greece occurred, and from other circumstances, I can entertain no doubt that the greater number of the migrating people were of the tribes which the Egyptians called Shepherds. This opinion seems to be confirmed by their being connected not only with Egypt, but also

<sup>1</sup> Of the kingdom of Sicyon see Rev. C. Crosthwaite's *Synchronology*, pp. 90—92. It was probably founded by Ægialeus about B.C. 1040. "Apollodorus (l. 3, c. 1), says Ægialeus was the brother of Phoroneus, and Clemens Alexandrinus expressly states that Ægialeus, the founder of Sicyon, was contemporary with Phoroneus." Phoroneus succeeded Inachus the first king of Argos. Mr. Clinton treats of Inachus and Phoroneus, the latter of whom he makes "an aboriginal chief of the predominant tribe the Pelasgi," in pp. 14, 15, of the *Epitome of the Fasti Hellenici*.

<sup>2</sup> *Synchronology*, pp. 84, 85.

<sup>3</sup> The Rev. Robert Ellis, in his *Armenian Origin of the Etruscans*, (Lond. Parker, Son, and Bourn, 1860) ascribes a common origin to the Etruscans, Lydians, and Pelasgians. He says, "The Pelasgians called cities by the name of Larissa," p. 167. Accordingly we find that several cities were called by this name. See the *Dictionarium Historic. Geographic. Poetic.* of Chas. Stephens, 1621.

<sup>4</sup> *Iliad*, b. ii. vv. 840, 841.

<sup>5</sup> *Horæ Egyptiacæ*, pp. 178, 179.

<sup>6</sup> *Synchronology*, p. 245. Nilus was a sacred name, and given to more than one of their kings. *Ibid.* p. 113.



with Phœnicia; for many of the shepherds were evidently Phœnicians settled in Egypt. Some of the colonizers of Greece, however, may have come directly from Phœnicia."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Crosthwaite indeed does not affirm that the Shepherd Kings were certainly Phœnicians, but that from their king and chief section going to Phœnicia upon their expulsion from Egypt, this idea is probable.<sup>2</sup>

Following Eusebius, he gives to the dynasty of the Phœnician Shepherd Kings four, namely, Saïtes, Beon, Aphobis, and Arcles the Tyrian Hercules, whose reigns occupied in all 106 years.<sup>3</sup>

Saïtes or Salites, the Salatis of Manetho, and Silites of Syncellus, was the founder of Sais in the Delta. To him succeeded Beon, also called Pachnan and Apachnas, which last name is with Manetho the name of another sovereign, successor to Beon. To Beon succeeded Aphobis.<sup>4</sup> To him Manetho, as quoted by Josephus in his work against Apion, gives another successor before Hercules, Janias. The last king Manetho makes Assis or Asis, who, as Mr. Crosthwaite says, was not a shepherd, but the Egyptian who expelled them.<sup>5</sup> He follows Herodotus as the most trustworthy of all ancient authorities in regard of Egypt.<sup>6</sup> Herodotus takes up the chain of Egyptian history about half a century after the time of Asis, thus:

Asis, Amosis, Tethmosis, or Halisphramuthosis	24
Chebron	13
Amenophis I., or Amasis, or Amenses	21
Miphra, or Miphramuthosis	23

Moëris, Belus, Serapis, Tothmosis	9
Sesostris, or Amenophis II.	28
Pheron, Horus,	about 12

During about four or five years of the beginning of this reign Armais or Danaus and his brother Python were in rebellion, called the Titans' war; after Armais was expelled Python reigned alone about one year.

Then insert Actisanes or Zerah . . . 10

Then, with Herodotus, Proteus, or Phro-Teuth, called also Menes and Amenophis III. He was Hermes, son of Ammon, or Harmeses Mi-Amun, or Harmes-Asis Mi-Amon. This appears to have been the younger Harmes, the son of Ammon and Maia. He reigned until about ten years after the fall of Troy, *i. e.* B.C. 880.<sup>7</sup>

"From the expulsion of the Shepherd Kings," says Mr.

<sup>1</sup> *Synchronology*, p. 179.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 240. Bishop Russell, in his *View of Ancient and Modern Egypt*, identifies them with the Palestini, the fathers of the Philistines, pp. 71—75.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 240, 241. Mr. Poole places Abraham in the time of Salatis,

B.C. 2081.—*Horæ Egypt.* p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> Eusebius places Joseph in the reign of Aphobis, B.C. 1605.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 110.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 113, 114.

<sup>7</sup> See Crosthwaite's *Synchronology*, pp. 110, 111.

Crosthwaite, "to the reign of Amenophis the Great, or Osiris, the father of Horus, Eusebius states six kings to have reigned; but the fourth and fifth names on his list<sup>1</sup> appear to me clearly to belong to the same individual, Miphra or Miphramuthosis; and what confirms me in this opinion is, that in some lists the one name, and in other lists the other stands first. I therefore conclude, that between the expulsion of the Shepherds and the reign of Osiris, there were five reigns."<sup>2</sup> In a note to p. 108, he also observes, "Manetho placed the expulsion of the Shepherds a little before the building of Jerusalem and the temple, which is not far from the true date."<sup>3</sup> The expulsion of the Shepherd Kings he places in B.C. 1070, the founding of the temple in B.C. 1011.

That Sesostris was the original of Osiris, Osiris the mythological, Sesostris the real personage, is evident from a comparison of the account of Osiris with that of Sesostris in Diodorus Siculus. The same conquests and exploits are ascribed to both. Osiris or Sesostris is thus fixed by the Trojan period. "Many of those who fought at Troy were sons of Argonauts, and the Argonauts were either sons of those who reigned in Greece at the time of the invasion of Osiris, or of Osiris himself. The Argonautic expedition was therefore one generation, or about 33 years before the Trojan war; and the invasion of Greece by Osiris was two generations, or about 66 or 67 years before that event."<sup>4</sup> The date of the Fall of Troy, B.C. 890, is fixed by that of the founding of Carthage. That city was destroyed B.C. 147, and according to Solinus, (A.D. 80) after having existed as a state 737 years. It was therefore built in the year B.C. 884. "Cinyras was the friend of Agamemnon,<sup>5</sup> and reigned in Cyprus some time before the Trojan war began, and was expelled from his kingdom by Teucer seven years after that war had terminated.<sup>6</sup> Cinyras, we are also informed, was son-in-law to Pygmalion the brother of Dido or Elisa the founder of Carthage.<sup>7</sup> And Carthage, they say, was begun in the seventh<sup>8</sup> and dedicated in the fourteenth year of the reign of Pygmalion.

"From all these circumstances viewed in connection, it is evident that Agamemnon, Teucer, Pygmalion, and Dido were contemporary; and that in all probability the building of Carthage must have succeeded to the destruction of Troy almost immediately, that is to say, within a very few years, and consequently that the war could not have begun before the end of the

<sup>1</sup> Amosis, Chebron, Amenophis, Miphra, Miphramuthosis, Tuthmosis.

<sup>2</sup> *Synchronology*, p. 112.

<sup>3</sup> In *Josephus against Apion*.

<sup>4</sup> *Synchronology*, pp. 31, 32.

<sup>5</sup> *Iliad* xi. 19.

<sup>6</sup> See Virgil and his scholiast Servius, and the *Parian Chronicle*. Pausanias

says that Teucer married the daughter of Cinyras, and that Evagoras was descended from them. (Pausanias, l. 1, c. 2.)

<sup>7</sup> Apollodorus Athen. (B.C. 144) says that Cinyras married Metharme the daughter of Pygmalion.

<sup>8</sup> *Josephus contra Apion*, l. 1, c. 18.

tenth century B.C., or about the year B.C. 900, and ended about 890 B.C."<sup>1</sup>

That Sesostris was the same with Shishak in the 12th chapter of the 2nd book of Chronicles, was the opinion not only of Sir Isaac Newton, but of the learned Dr. Allix,<sup>2</sup> and of Sir John Marsham. Bishop Russell, in his *Egypt*, opposes this opinion, but by retaining the disputable table of the Universal History so clearly exposed by Mr. Crosthwaite in the eighth chapter of the first part of his *Synchronology*.

It is admitted by Bishop Russell, in the 3rd volume of his *Connection*, that Sesostris was also called Sesochis, which answers to Sesac. And in the Myris and Sasyches of Diodorus Siculus we recognise Moeris the father of Sesostris, and Sesostris himself under the name Sesac. Bp. Russell himself (p. 209) says, "It may be admitted that some of the Greeks confounded the name of Sesostris with Shishak or Soussakim, and called the great conqueror Sesochis."<sup>3</sup> The name Shishak was given to indicate his intemperate indulgence at the table, and is regarded as pointing in the same direction with his other title Bacchus.<sup>4</sup> The history of Osiris and his family is fully given by Mr. Crosthwaite in the third part of his very interesting and valuable *Synchronology*. Bp. Russell, in his *View of Egypt*, brings Sesostris within little more than a century of the fall of Troy, which is a remarkable approximation to Mr. Crosthwaite.<sup>5</sup>

The age of the principal Pyramids is now known to be subsequent to Sesostris, the account of Herodotus having been verified by recent discovery, that they were erected by Cheops, or Chemmis, and his successors Cephren or Cephrenes and Mycerinus or Cherinus. These reigned subsequently to Sesostris, and after his three successors Horus or Pheron, Proteus and Rampsinitus or Remphis.

Cheops, B.C. 860.

Cephren, B.C. 820.

Mycerinus, B.C. 800—785.

Diodorus Siculus was in Egypt in B.C. 60, in the 180th Olympiad.<sup>6</sup> We are now said to have a series of fifty royal pyramids or tombs, with contemporary sepulchres and smaller monuments in their neighbourhood, all previous to the rise of the twelfth or first Great Theban Dynasty.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, Diodorus reports from the priests themselves that there were but forty-seven royal tombs, of which only seventeen had survived to the time of Ptolemy Lagus, that is, the fourth century.

<sup>1</sup> Crosthwaite's *Synchronology*, pp. 32, 33. And see the sequel.

<sup>2</sup> *Reflections upon the Books of the Holy Scripture*, vol. i. p. 102. Lond. 1688.

<sup>3</sup> *Synchronology*, p. 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>5</sup> p. 77.

<sup>6</sup> Clinton's *Epitome of the Fasti Hellenici*, p. 324. Diod. Sic. *Rerum Antiq.* lib. ii. p. 63. Lugd. 1559.

<sup>7</sup> Fergusson's *Handbook of Architecture*, p. 215. 2nd edit.

We may hence conclude that the moderns have not arrived at the true system of interpretation, since their results vary so essentially from the narrations of the priests themselves in the century immediately preceding the Christian era. Cheops or Suphis and his successor Cephren had rendered themselves so hateful to their subjects that they would not name them, but inscribed their pyramids to a shepherd Philitis, not a shepherd-king, but a contemporary of the founders. So Herodotus.<sup>1</sup> And hence probably, as Larcher observed, the diversities of opinion respecting the names of their founders.

As the Chaldæans, the Hindoos, and other nations could boast of a vast fabulous antiquity, so did the Egyptian priests set up similar claims in honour of their national mythology. But, observes Mr. Clinton, they “never laid claim to more than 8000 years in the time of Solon, as we learn from Plato.”<sup>2</sup>

When we find this period more than quadrupled, we may be satisfied that it was in consequence of the artificial application of astronomical calculations which had no foundation in history. So Mr. Clinton remarks in his interesting chapter on Scripture Chronology, some part of which is peculiar to the Epitome of his larger work entitled *Fasti Romani*; “the 36,525 years were an astronomical cycle obtained by multiplying 1461 by 25; as Syncellus computes.”<sup>3</sup>

I have thus endeavoured to draw out a reasonable and consistent sketch of the history of Egypt, so far as was requisite to disentangle it from the legendary and other accretions upon which the moderns have sought to build up one system after another, all inconsistent and in great part conjectural.

I will conclude with the following corroboration of what has been advanced. It is of the greater value as proceeding from the pen not of an Egyptologist, but of an independent witness. *Flaxman* in his Lectures on Sculpture makes Sesostriis contemporary with Rehoboam, and notices internal evidence from the comparative state of Egyptian and Grecian sculpture. “Most of their (the Egyptians) great works are mentioned by the ancient writers as being done in the reign of Sesostriis and afterwards. Sesostriis lived in the reign of Rehoboam King of Israel about the time of the Trojan war, or one thousand years before the Christian era, which shews that the arts of Egypt and of Greece were in a progressive state of improvement at the same time: and from the Greeks residing with them to study theology, philosophy, and science,—from the great intercourse political and commercial between the two countries from the heroic times, and from the Greeks being long settled in the city of Naucratis and other parts of Egypt, we may fairly conclude their communica-

<sup>1</sup> I. ii. c. 128.

<sup>2</sup> *Epitome of the Fasti Romani*, p. 309.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. And see the review of

Bunsen's *Egypt*, pp. 402, 403. *Quarterly Review*, No. 210, vol. 105. 1859.

tion in arts was just as free as in other countries, which seems the more likely as there is a considerable resemblance in the features of the early Greek and Egyptian statues."<sup>1</sup>

Dædalus was contemporary with Minos and Sesostris. "In the early times of Greece Pausanias informs us the twelve Gods were worshipped in Arcadia under the forms of rude stones, and before Dædalus the statues had eyes nearly shut, the arms attached to their sides, and the legs close together; but as geometry, mechanics, arithmetic, and anatomy improved, painting and sculpture acquired action, proportion, and detailed parts."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Crosthwaite in his *Synchronology*, the result of thirty years of intelligent investigation, reduced the Trojan era by three centuries; from 1184 B.C., the usual date of the fall of Troy, to B.C. 890. As internal evidence of the correctness of his calculation, the following observation from the pen of the late ingenious Archer Butler is a very singular corroboration: "I confess, when I contemplate the subsequent rapidity of Grecian development, I do not see any way through the three or four centuries of littleness which (accepting the ordinary chronologies) succeeded the War of Troy."<sup>3</sup>

## IX.

### PROPHECY.

1. In a sermon preached at Llampeter, in December 1850, Dr. Rowland Williams thus delivered himself upon the subject of prophecy: "There is yet farther, however, a distinct (but kindred) feature in the Hebrew prophets, which stamps their writings with peculiar value. It is that dim yet undoubting anticipation of a more perfect way than any commonly known in their age, which was to be revealed, when the Hope of Israel should come. In other words, it is that foreboding of One anointed with the Holy Spirit and with power, which may especially be termed the Spirit of prophecy; and in virtue of which we ascribe to its possessors a more than ordinarily large measure of (that sacred impulse, which may be described as) inspiration. We do not indeed assert, that the Hebrew prophets knew precisely what manner of salvation they foretold; for they often shadow it forth under such temporal deliverances, as to make the literal, or Jewish interpretation of their predictions, not

<sup>1</sup> Flaxman's *Lectures on Sculpture*, Lect. ii p. 57. 2nd edit. 1838.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> Prof. Butler's *Lectures on the History of Philosophy*, vol. i. p. 272. Of the reality of the Trojan War see Bp. Thirlwall's *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 151. Bp. Thirlwall would regard Helena as a fictitious person. Mr. Clinton on the other hand observes: "Even when the

name is fictitious the person may be real. Thus the father of Arion is Cycleus; doubtless a fabricated name, expressing that Arion invented or improved the Cyclian chorus; and yet Arion himself was real. Helen therefore may be a real person, although by one poetical fiction she is called the daughter of Nemesis."—*Epitome of Fasti Hellenici*, p. 5.



altogether unreasonable. Nor, indeed, do they themselves make any claim to omniscience. The Word of the Lord comes to their heart or conscience for a particular purpose, and they speak it; but where their own faculties and usual means of information can come into play, they naturally exercise them. Thus their language is simple Hebrew, and only when they reach Babylon, Chaldaic; the countries which they describe are those adjoining their own; their general range of knowledge is that of their age; in short, the circumscribed limits of their horizon stand out at every turn. Still, amidst this imperfect knowledge, we find those accents which stir the heart like the sound of a trumpet, foretelling with the strongest confidence the ultimate triumph of pure religion, the springing of a righteous Branch out of the stem of Jesse, and the reign of a King who should execute justice and mercy. New virtues, they say, shall flourish with this new dispensation; the nations shall not learn war any more; the sacrifice of the (human) heart shall be counted above that of bulls and oxen.

“Although then some circumstances in the description of God’s First-born and Elect, by whom this change is to be accomplished, may primarily apply to collective Israel, [many others will admit of no such application. Israel surely was not the child whom a virgin was to bear; Israel did not make his grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his death; Israel scarcely reconciled that strangely blended variety of sufferings and triumph, which was predicted of the Messiah.”]<sup>1</sup>

Below these words, the latter of which the reader will observe are bracketed, we have the following note: “I no longer feel confident of the assertion in brackets; but now believe that *all* the prophecies have primarily an application nearly contemporaneous.—Feb. 11, 1855.”

2. In a sermon entitled *Servants of God speaking as moved by the Holy Ghost*, preached before the University of Cambridge on the Second Sunday in Advent, December 1854, we find Dr. Williams altogether rejecting the double sense in prophecy, and by consequence not a few of those Messianic prophecies which he had previously allowed: “They spake; but speech is the organ of thought; *therefore* there is nothing in the scripture but what was first in the mind of the scribe. *Nihil est in scripto, quod non prius in scriptore.*”<sup>2</sup>

3. Under this new light, prophecy after prophecy fades from his sight. So we read in the *Essays and Reviews*<sup>3</sup> how Bunsen in his *Biblical Researches*—with reason, in the judgment of Dr. Williams—denies the relation of Genesis xlix. 10<sup>4</sup> to the Messiah. The famous Shiloh (Gen. xlix. 10) is taken in its local sense, as

<sup>1</sup> *Rational Godliness*, Sermon. 4, pp. 55,

<sup>3</sup> p. 62.

56.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 294.

<sup>4</sup> See farther Mr. Rose’s Essay in *Replies to Essays and Reviews*, pp. 94—97.

the sanctuary where the young Samuel was trained; which, if doctrinal perversions did not interfere, hardly any one would doubt to be the true sense." Even the Targum of Onkelos applies this prophecy to the Messiah; and so Rabbi Jochanan (accounted the author of the Jerusalem Talmud), in the third century, and the renowned Kimchi, who renders Shiloh, *his Son*.<sup>1</sup> This interpretation is adopted in the curious Appendix to Dr. S. Harris's *Commentary on the 53rd chapter of Isaiah*. This scarce volume (for so I believe it may be called) was published in 1735 by Dr. Harris, who was educated at Merchant Taylor's School and went thence to the venerable foundation of Peterhouse, Cambridge—to the friendly society of which most ancient house I am glad of an opportunity of acknowledging the many delightful hours spent within their walls. Dr. Harris was the first Professor of Modern History in that University.

4. In page 63<sup>2</sup> Dr. Rowland Williams says of the late Baron Bunsen: "he forgets that the bitterest curses of Psalm 109 (from v. 6 to 19) are not the Psalmist's own, but a speech in the mouth of his adversary, as the change of number shews." This is in direct opposition to the apostle Peter's application of this Psalm in the 20th verse of the first chapter of the Acts. This point is further illustrated by my excellent and truly candid friend, Dr. George Phillips, in the second volume of his work upon the Book of Psalms.<sup>3</sup> Surenhusius vindicates also the prophetic character of this Psalm against Junius, in his very valuable volume on the Quotations from the Old Testament.<sup>4</sup>

5. Dr. Williams follows the late Chevalier Bunsen in a series of attacks upon the prophecies that prove nothing but the most servile adulation of the Chevalier Bunsen on the part of his reviewer. "He cannot," says Dr. Williams, "quote Nahum denouncing ruin against Nineveh, or Jeremiah against Tyre, without remembering that already the Babylonian power throws its shadow across Asia, and Nebuchadnezzar was mustering his armies." Nebuchadnezzar did not begin to reign until about a century after Nahum's time. And long before the predicted fall of Nineveh, her sovereign Esarhaddon was amongst the most illustrious and victorious of his times. In B.C. 680, he conquered Babylon itself and made it tributary.

Tyre was in all its glory when Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to

<sup>1</sup> *Glassii Onomatologia Messie Prophetica*, pp. 450, 451. *Opuscula*, Lugd. Batav. 1700. Dr. Williams, in his sermons entitled *Rational Godliness*, remarks in a note at page 194, in reference to Haggai ii. 7, *the Desire of all nations shall come*, "It must be fully admitted that this text of Haggai is only an accommodation to the Messiah." R. Akiba, early in the second century, in *Tract. Sanhedrim*, c. 11, fol. 97, applies this

prophecy to the Messiah. Dr. Williams here follows the later Jews. See Joh. Henry Michaelis on this place.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays and Reviews*.

<sup>3</sup> pp. 403—406. *The Psalms in Hebrew, with a Critical, Exegetical, and Philological Commentary*. Lond. Parker, West Strand. 1846.

<sup>4</sup> *Βιβλος Καταλλαγης*. Amst. 1713. p. 386.

it, and its strength was such that the siege lasted thirteen years. Her fall was to fill the surrounding countries with terror and astonishment. *All the inhabitants of the isles shall be astonished at thee, and their kings shall be sore afraid, they shall be troubled in their countenance.* (Ezek. 27. 36)<sup>1</sup>.

6. The authorship of Isaiah is next disputed and divided between some five or six unknown hands! "If he would quote the book of Isaiah, he cannot conceal, after Gesenius and Ewald and Maurer have written, that the book is composed of elements of different eras."<sup>2</sup> Nothing is either more conflicting or confusing than the capricious unsettledness of these shadowy critics, who pretend to no harmony with one another, and who proceed upon no fixed principles.

"I cannot here," says Moses Stuart, "exemplify and confirm the position that the resemblances between the confessedly genuine parts of Isaiah and the suspected parts of his book, are so many and so striking that even *De Wette* confesses that 'they must arise from *imitation* or in some other way.' (*Einleit*, page 288.) To the *some other way* in which these resemblances arose we may assent, but not to the assertion that the writer in question was an *imitator*. I can only refer the reader, for an ample statement, to Kleinert's *Aechtheit des Esaias*, pp. 220—279, and to Havernick's *Spezielle Einleit Esai*, p. 192 *seq.*" Professor Stuart admits indeed differences of style, but those not confined to the latter portion of Isaiah, and not inconsistent with the single authorship of the whole.<sup>3</sup>

7. Dr. Williams then, under cover of the name of the late Chevalier Bunsen, insinuates a threefold authorship of Zechariah. The reader cannot peruse a better illustration of the wilful nature of that school of criticism which has become the admiration of Dr. Williams, than Professor Hengstenberg's exposure of those attacks upon the book of Zechariah which have proceeded from Flügel (1784), Eichhorn, Bertholdt, De Wette, Forberg, Paulus, and Rosenmüller, in his second edition. Against Joseph Mede, Hammond, and Newcome, *Blayney* wrote in his new Translation of Zechariah, with notes. Oxford, 1797.<sup>4</sup> Against the German objectors Köster, Beckhaus, and Jahn; but Hengstenberg is sufficient.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See farther Dr. M'Caul's *Essay on Prophecy*, § 9, 10, pp. 97—110, in *Aids to Faith*. Lond. Murray. 1861.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> Lorimer's edition of Prof. Stuart's *Critical History and Defence of the Old Testament Canon*, p. 91. Mr. Lorimer also refers to Prof. Joseph Addison Alexander's two volumes on the earlier and later prophecies of Isaiah, and to Carl Paul Caspari's (of the University of Christiania) *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Buch Iesaja* (Contributions to an In-

troductio to the Book of Isaiah). And see Prof. Stuart, pp. 90—97, also p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> p. 35.

<sup>5</sup> Köster's *Meletemata critica et exegetica in Zachariæ Prophetæ partem post.* Göttingen, 1818. Beckhaus, *Integrität der prophet. Schriften*, p. 337. Jahn's *Einleitung ins A. T.* Mr. Rose also mentions the Commentary on Zechariah published at Stuttgart in 1860, written by W. Neumann. *Replies to Essays and Reviews*, p. 116.

8. Nay, even the learned amongst the Jews of whom Herod demanded where the Messiah was to be born, are indirectly charged with error in applying to the Christ the prophecy of his birthplace. "If he would quote Micah as designating Bethlehem for the birthplace of the Messiah, he cannot shut his eyes to the fact that the deliverer to come from thence was to be a contemporary shield against the Assyrian."<sup>1</sup> Had Dr. Williams shut his eyes to the words, "yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me, that is to be ruler in Israel; *whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting?*"<sup>2</sup> This is amongst the many prophecies referred in the Targum of Jonathan to the Messias.

9. For *kiss the Son* in the last verse of the second Psalm Dr. Williams would substitute *worship purely*, pleading the authority of St. Jerome. The word rendered *son* is admitted by Aben Ezra to be justly so rendered, and occurs in the book of Proverbs in the same sense.<sup>3</sup> Jerome had, in his Translation of the whole Psalter into the Latin, given *adulate pure*, but in his own independent version had rendered *adulate Filium*.<sup>4</sup>

10. Dr. Williams *assumes* that the most ancient Hebrew reading of Psalm xxii. 17, is not *they pierced*, but *like lions*. It is fallacious to assert this. The three readings in this instance in reality coalesce. They all suppose not a substantive which would give no definite meaning, but a verb, to which Gesenius himself allows the meaning of *to pierce*, although he will not admit of the verb being used in this instance. It is found in the Septuagint, in the Syriac, and in the Vulgate, as in our Version. Dr. Williams, who is in the habit of judaizing in his treatment of the Old Testament, applies this whole Psalm not to our blessed Redeemer as he himself instructed his Church as he hung upon the cross, but to *Israel*.<sup>5</sup>

11. He will have the words of Hosea quoted in the 15th verse of the second chapter of St. Matthew to be not a prophecy of the Messiah, but an accommodation. Here indeed he is not alone. Bishop Marsh alleges Kidder in his elaborate *Demonstration of the Messias*, and Dr. Nicholls in his *Conference with a Theist*.<sup>6</sup> Surenhusius, to whom Bishop Marsh refers in his tenth Lecture on the *Interpretation of the Bible*,<sup>7</sup> considers that the prophecy of Hosea was only then completely fulfilled when our Lord was taken into Egypt.<sup>8</sup> So at the 18th verse Suren-

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> "That our Saviour was a ruler in Israel appears from the tenor of his whole life. And he is unquestionably the only one, who ever appeared in the form of man, of whom we can declare, that his goings forth were from everlasting."—Bp. Marsh's *Lectures on the Interpretation of the Bible*, Lect. 9, p. 432. Camb. 1828.

<sup>3</sup> Prov. 31. 2. And see Dr. Geo.

Phillips, *On the Psalms*, vol. i. p. 25. And an excellent note on this place in Joh. Henry Michaelis' edition of the *Hebrew Bible*, vol. ii. 1720.

<sup>4</sup> See Mr. Rose's *Essay*, p. 98.

<sup>5</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 69.

<sup>6</sup> Lect. 10, p. 462, *On the Interpretation of Scripture*.

<sup>7</sup> p. 463.

<sup>8</sup> pp. 181—188.

husius remarks that the slaughter of the children was not so complete as to fulfil the prophecy of Jeremiah there quoted, at the carrying away of the Jews to Babylon by Nebusaradan the general of Nebuchadnezzar's army. *Because they were not* (Jer. xxxi. 15), both Surenhusius and John Henry Michaelis render, because there were none of them remaining, or *none of them survived*.

12. Dr. Williams adopts with Bunsen the reading of Luther's Bible in Isaiah ix. 6, who, following Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotus, divides the words rendered in our version, *the mighty God*. John Henry Michaelis, in his valuable notes upon this chapter, illustrates these words, as does Professor Selwyn, by a reference to Ps. xxiv. 8, and Ps. xlv. 4;<sup>1</sup> Michaelis refers also to Isa. x. 21; xi. 2; xii. 2; and Zeph. iii. 17.

Dr. Williams' repudiation of the whole body of Messianic prophecy is almost without parallel in the unparalleled assemblage of fallacies that compose the volume of which his review of Bunsen's *Biblical Researches* forms a part. After his rash criticisms on the book of Daniel, condemning the author as in truth an impostor, he thus sums up: "When so vast an induction on the destructive side has been gone through, it avails little that some passages may be doubtful, one perhaps in Zechariah, and one in Isaiah, capable of being made *directly* Messianic, and a chapter *possibly* in Deuteronomy foreshadowing the final fall of Jerusalem. Even these few cases, the remnant of so much confident rhetoric, tend to melt, if they are not already melted, in the crucible of searching enquiry." I decline quoting the remainder of this most offensive and arrogant attack upon the prophetic portion of the Scriptures. It is as contemptible as it is groundless; and as proceeding from the pen of one who has some pretensions to scholarship, it is equally discreditable to him as a scholar and as a Christian.

13. And now how did the Jews understand their own Scriptures? Did they recognise the Messiah as the great end and object of prophecy? The answer may be found in the numerous applications of Old Testament prophecy in the Chaldee paraphrase as collected by Buxtorf.<sup>2</sup> There Gen. iii. 15 was to be fulfilled in the days of the King Messias. At Gen. xxxv. 21, it is said of the tower of Edar that it is "the place from which the King Messias shall be revealed at the end of the days." And similarly at Micah iv. 8, *Thou, O tower of the flock*. Reference is here made to a place near upon Bethlehem, as may be seen from Gen. xxxv. 16, 19.

Gen. xlix. 1. *That I may tell you that which shall befall you in the last days.* On these words the Targum has: "And from

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Selwyn's *Horæ Hebraicæ*, p. daicum, *Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*. Basle, 116. Camb. 1848. 1639, fol.

<sup>2</sup> Joannis Buxtorfi *P. Lexicon Chal-*



the time when the glory of the divine majesty had appeared to him, the *end* in which the King Messiah is to come was hid from him, and therefore he said, Come, and I will shew you what shall come to pass at the end of the days." The Jews themselves interpreted the end of the days of the Messiah as St. Paul in Heb. i. 1. So Kimchi and Rabbi Solomon Ben Melech, as given in Deyling's *Observationes Sacrae*.<sup>1</sup>

Gen. xlix. 10. *Until Shiloh come.* "Until Messiah shall come."

Gen. xlix. 11. *Binding his foal unto the vine, &c.* "How beautiful is the King Messiah who shall arise out of the house of Judah. He girds up his loins and descends, and sets the battle in array against his enemies, and slays kings," &c. *Jonathan and Targ. Hierosol.*

Gen. xlix. 12. *His eyes shall be red with wine.* "How beautiful are the eyes of the King Messiah! as pure wine!" *Targ. Jonath and Hieros.*

Exod. xii. 42. "Moses shall come forth from the desert and the Messiah shall go out from Rome."

Exod. xl. 9. "And thou shalt sanctify it (the tabernacle) for the sake of the crown of the kingdom of the house of Judah and for the sake of King Messiah, who shall deliver Israel in the end of the days."

Exod. xl. 11. "And for the sake of Messiah *the son of Ephraim*, who shall go forth from him, through whose hands the house of Israel shall conquer Gog and his lands in the end of the days."

On the Messiah the *son of Ephraim*, the reader may see Bp. Pearson's observations.<sup>2</sup>

Numb. xi. 26. "And through the hands of the King Messiah they (Gog and Magog) fall." *T. Hieros.*

Numb. xxiii. 21. "And the shout of the King Messiah sounds among them." *Targ. Jonath.*

Numb. xxiv. 7. *His kingdom shall be exalted.* "And the kingdom of the King Messiah shall be magnified." *Targ. Hieros.*

Numb. xxiv. 17. *There shall come a star out of Jacob.* "A powerful King from the house of Jacob shall reign, and the Messiah shall be anointed; or Messiah shall be magnified." *Targ. Jonath.* "A King shall rise out of Jacob, and the Messiah shall be anointed out of Israel." *Onkelos.*

Numb. xxiv. 20. *His latter end shall be that he perish for ever.* "And their end shall be in the days of the King Messiah." *Targ. Jonath.*

Numb. xxiv. 24. *And he also shall perish for ever.* "But the end of these and of those shall be that they shall fall by the hands of the King Messiah."

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 64. Leipz. 1735.

Oxf. 2nd edit. 1843.

<sup>2</sup> Pearson *On the Creed*, vol. ii. p. 149.

Deut. xxv. 19. *Thou shalt not forget it.* "Even in the days of the King Messiah thou shalt not forget."

Deut. xxx. 4. *And from thence will he fetch thee.* "And thence he shall lead thee by the hands of the King Messiah."

Ruth i. 1. "Until the King Messiah shall come."

Ruth iii. 15. "David and Daniel with his companions and the King Messias."

1 Sam. ii. 10. *And exalt the horn of his anointed.* "And shall exalt the kingdom of his Messiah."

2 Sam. xxiii. 3. "He said that he would appoint to me a king who is the Messias, who shall rise and shall rule in the fear of the Lord."

1 Kings iv. 33. "And he prophesied of the kings of the house of David, who ought to rule in this world, and in the world to come of the Messias."

Ps. ii. 2. "And to strive against his Messias."

Ps. xviii. 32. "Because for the sake of the miracles and deliverance which thou shalt vouchsafe to thy Messias."

Ps. xx. 6. "His Messiah," as in the Hebrew.

Ps. xxi. 1. "The King Messiah shall joy," and in v. 7, "the King Messias."

Ps. xlv. 2. "Thy beauty, O King Messias, is greater," &c.

Ps. xlv. 7. "But thou, O King Messiah."

Ps. lxi. 6. "Thou wilt add to the days of the King Messias."

Ps. lxi. 8. "In the day on which the King Messiah shall be anointed that he may reign."

Ps. lxxii. 1. "Give the sentence of judgment to the King Messias."

Ps. lxxx. 17. *And upon the Son of man, &c.* "And for the King Messiah's sake whom thou madest strong."

Ps. lxxxiv. 10. *And look upon the face of thine Anointed.* "Thy Messias," as in the Hebrew.

Eccles. i. 11. "With the generations that shall be in the days of the King Messias."

Eccles. vii. 25. "And the secret of the day when the King Messiah shall come, who is he that can find out that by wisdom?"

Song of Sol. i. 8. "Even to the time when I shall send the King Messias."

Song of Sol. iv. 5. "The two deliverers who shall deliver thee are Messiah the son of David and Messiah the son of Ephraim." This, says Buxtorf, savours of a rabbinical gloss, and the last is commonly called the son of Joseph. So too chap. vii., ver. 3.

Song of Sol. vii. 14, (v. 13). "It shall be said to the King Messias."

Song of Sol. viii. 1. "In that time the King Messias shall be revealed."

Song of Sol. viii. 2. *I would lead thee.* "I will lead thee, O King Messias."

Song of Sol. viii. 4. "The King Messiah shall say."

Isa. iv. 2. *The Branch of the Lord.* "The Messiah of the Lord shall be for gladness and honour."

Isa. ix. 6. *The Prince of peace.* "The Messiah of peace."

Isa. x. 27. *And the yoke shall be destroyed because of the anointing.* "And the people shall be broken by the Messiah."

Isa. xi. 1. Of the Messiah. "And his Messiah shall be anointed from the sons of men."

Isa. xi. 6. Of the peaceful days of the Messiah. "In the days of the Messiah the peace of the Israelites shall be multiplied in the land, and the wolf shall dwell with the lamb."

Isa. xi. 10. "For from the sons of Jesse shall come forth the Messias."

Isa. xvi. 1. "There shall be those who shall bring tribute to the Messias of Israel."

Isa. xvi. 5. "The throne of the Messias."

Isa. xxviii. 5. "In that day shall the Messias of the Lord of hosts be for a crown of joy."

Isa. xlii. 1. "Behold my servant the Messiah."

Isa. xliii. 10. *And my servant whom I have chosen.* "And my servant the Messias in whom I have satisfaction."

Isa. xlv. 1. "So saith the Lord to his Messias, to Cyrus," as in the Hebrew.

Isa. lii. 13. "My servant the Messias."

Isa. liii. 10. *He shall see his seed.* "They shall see the kingdom of his Messias."

Jer. xxiii. 5. "I will raise up to David Messiah the righteous," &c.

Jer. xxx. 21. *Their governor.* "And their king shall be anointed from themselves, and their Messiah shall be revealed from out of them."

Jer. xxxiii. 13. *Under the hands of him that telleth them.* "The people shall be gathered through the Messiah."

Jer. xxxiii. 15. "The Messiah of righteousness."

Lam. ii. 22. "Thou shalt proclaim liberty to thy people the house of Israel, by the Messias."

Lam. iv. 22. "And thou shalt deliver them by the hand of the Messiah."

Hosea v. 5. "And they shall obey Messiah the Son of David their King."

Hosea xiv. 7. "They shall sit under the shadow of his Messiah."

Micah iv. 8. *And thou, O tower of the flock.* "But thou the Messiah of Israel who art hidden because of the sins of Israel, to thee shall come the kingdom."

Micah v. 2. "From thee shall come forth the Messias before me, that he may bear rule over Israel."

Hab. iii. 18. *Yet I will rejoice in the Lord.* "Therefore on

account of the miraculous signs and the deliverance which thou shalt make for thy Messias."

Zech. iii. 8. *My servant the Branch.* "The Messiah who shall be revealed."

Zech. iv. 7. *He shall bring forth the head stone.* "He shall reveal the Messiah whose name is called from everlasting, and he shall rule over all kingdoms."

Zech. vi. 12. *Behold the man whose name is the Branch.* "Behold the man; Messiah is his name, who shall be revealed and shall be magnified, and he shall build the temple of the Lord."

Zech. x. 4. "From him his King, from him his Messiah."<sup>1</sup>

These passages from the Chaldee Paraphrase, collected by Buxtorf, are sufficient to evince that the Jews themselves would regard as worse than heathens those who would, if possible, invalidate the testimony of prophecy to the Messias.<sup>2</sup>

I pass over Dr. Williams' attempt to uphold the perverse interpretations of the later Jews; to exculpate the unbelief of those who crucified the Redeemer; and to darken that clearest and most evangelical portion of the evangelical prophet, the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah.

I now dismiss Dr. Williams' rude and impious handling of the Old Testament. It may be that, before these pages shall have seen the light, my able and truly candid friend the Rev. Henry John Rose will have put forth a more complete exposure of Dr. Williams' errors.

14. Since writing the above, Mr. Rose's very valuable exposure both of Dr. Rowland Williams and of his advocate Professor Stanley has been given to the world. Upon his review of the *Essays* Mr. Rose remarks that "it would be unnecessary to offer a single remark on so feeble a performance, if it were not desirable to correct one or two misrepresentations which occur in it."<sup>3</sup> This observation is evidently intended to apply to the point with which Mr. Rose was concerned, Professor Stanley's defence of Dr. Rowland Williams.

Mr. Rose first notices a passage in the 488th page of the Review in which Dr. Stanley represents Bishop Pearson as anticipating Dr. Williams almost verbally, where the latter

<sup>1</sup> Buxtorf's *Lexicon Chald.* pp. 1268—1274.

<sup>2</sup> See also Prof. Harold Browne's Four Sermons, entitled *Messiah as Foretold and Expected.* Deighton and Co. Camb. 1862;

*The Authenticity and Messianic Interpretation of the Prophecies of Isaiah, vindicated in a course of Sermons preached before the University of Oxford.* By the Rev. R. Payne Smith, M.A., Sub-Librarian to the Bodleian Library. Oxf. and

Lond. Parker, 1862;

The notes in John Henry Michaelis' edition of the *Hebrew Bible*, 1725;

Joh. Hen. Michaelis *de Targumim Usu insigni Anti-Judaico in doctrinâ de personâ Christi*;

Allix's *Judgment of the Jewish Church against the Unitarians*, reprinted at the Clarendon Press;

Joh. Jac. Rambachii, *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ*, 1752.

<sup>3</sup> *Replies to Essays and Reviews*, p. 128.

speaks of only two texts in the prophets as being *directly Messianic*. Bishop Pearson, in his section upon the name *Christ*,<sup>1</sup> says, "Wheresoever he is spoken of as *the Anointed*, it may well be first understood of some other person; except one place in Daniel, where Messiah is foretold to be cut off: and yet even there the Greek translation hath, not the *Messiah*, but the *Uction*." Bishop Pearson is not speaking here of the vast body of prophecies that relate to the coming of the Son of God, but to those in which the designation of the Anointed is used in those prophecies. This distinction has been overlooked by Professor Stanley, who in consequence does Bishop Pearson at least, undesignedly, very great injustice by identifying him with Dr. Rowland Williams as maintaining "that except in two cases, there is no such thing as a prediction of the Messiah at all in the Old Testament." Mr. Rose justly asserts that the complaint against Dr. Williams is, not that he maintains that the prophecies may primarily be applied to some other person, but that he denies that they are intended in any way to be *predictions* of Christ."<sup>2</sup>

Professor Stanley recognises Dr. Williams as one who, notwithstanding all his attempts to set aside the prophetic evidence of the principal prophecies that point to the Redeemer, is only contending that they admit of a nearer as well as of a remoter application. "The typical ideas of patience and glory in the Old Testament," says Dr. Williams, "find their culminating fulfilment in the New."<sup>3</sup> But we have seen that Dr. Williams altogether refuses the prophetic testimony of the patriarch Jacob respecting Shiloh (Gen. 49. 10): he turns aside from the only true reading, *kiss the Son*, to *worship purely*; he applies the 22nd Psalm and 53rd Isaiah to the very people who are therein set forth as crucifying the Lord of Glory; he leaves the impression on his readers that the Immanuel foretold in 7th Isaiah was Isaiah's own son; he, in defiance of Immanuel, explains away the prophecies of Daniel; he discredits with a '*perhaps*' the prophecy of the meek and lowly King of Sion by Zechariah; and he affixes his '*possibly*'<sup>4</sup> to the awfully faithful but prophetic picture of the punishment of the unbelieving Jews that has been left us from the hand of Moses in Deuteronomy.

Mr. Rose with just indignation protests against Professor Stanley's classifying Dr. Davison with Dr. Rowland Williams, whilst Dr. Davison admits that in the Psalms are foreshewn the unchangeable priesthood, the divine Sonship, the resurrection, etc., of the Redeemer, and that Daniel foretold his death and the fortunes of the Christian Church; directly vindicating his book from the rash and worse than rash criticisms of those who would persuade the world that it was only contemporaneous with

<sup>1</sup> p. 101, vol. i. 2nd edit. Oxf. 1843.

<sup>2</sup> *Replies to Essays and Reviews*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, note 2, p. 67.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 70.



Antiochus Epiphanes. Mr. Rose's exposure of the critical worthlessness of Dr. Williams is indeed complete. Who would rely upon a writer, who, after that Dr. Chandler, a former Bishop of Durham, had said that to name all the prophecies of the Messiah would carry him into too great length, should state that Bishop Chandler is said to have thought twelve passages in the Old Testament directly Messianic?<sup>1</sup>

## X.

### CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, OR, THE TEACHING OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

1. I have already observed that Dr. Williams a few years ago denounced that rationalistic presumption which would deprive the Almighty of the attribute of justice, and make it a light thing to forgive transgression. Time was when he unambiguously asserted the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and gladly acknowledged how greatly the Church is indebted to the integrity and ability of St. Athanasius. If indeed he used the term "*forms of divine being*,"<sup>2</sup> they were personal forms, "whom," he says, "we cannot help seeing described in Scripture as distinct, yet of all of whom we say, These *three agents* are one God."<sup>3</sup>

It has been said in behalf of Dr. Williams, that what have been charged upon him as departures from the doctrine of the Church, are not the expression of his own, but of the late Chevalier Bunsen's opinions. And to some extent the ambiguity of his style as a reviewer may perhaps enable him to plead such an apology. But there ought to have been no such ambiguity. A writer is answerable for the indirect as well as the direct tendency of his productions. Passing over all that may be screened under the kind of apology that has been advanced in his favour, what can excuse his attack upon the doctrine of Original Sin and of the Atonement, in the 86th and 87th pages of his review of Bunsen? The words "the Augustinian notion of a curse inherited by infants" is tantamount to a denial of original sin and of the need of an atonement as well for original guilt as for actual sins of men. It is nothing short of an impugning of the second Article of our Church. And in truth it must be admitted that very many who would unite in condemning the *Essays and Reviews*, have learnt, unhappily learnt, to modify even so as essentially to change the doctrine of Original Sin itself from their casting aside those distinctive features of the teaching of St. Augustine which are in unison with the whole doctrine of both Old and New Testament, but

<sup>1</sup> *Replies to Essays and Reviews*, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>2</sup> *Rational Godliness*, p. 252.

which were not, at least, consistently maintained by the Greek Fathers. It is, alas, too commonly said that our Reformers did not regard the spiritual corruption of our nature as total, and that they therefore inserted the words "whereby man is very far gone from original righteousness," as though he was not altogether devoid of spiritual and moral good. This has been reiterated from Bishop Tomline's *Refutation of Calvinism*, but is utterly at variance with the meaning of the term *original righteousness*, which is a scholastic term grounded upon the words of St. Augustine, and comprehending those gifts of the Holy Spirit with which our nature was adorned at the creation of our first parents. The modern evasion, which I take this opportunity of exposing, would never have been hazarded, had those who were guilty of it known what was meant in the 16th century, and still earlier, by the term *original righteousness*.<sup>1</sup> The Church of Rome herself teaches that by original sin our nature was visited with *the total loss of original righteousness*.<sup>2</sup>

"The Papists and we agree," says Dr. Field, that original sin is the *privation of original righteousness*; but they suppose there was in nature, without that *addition of grace*, a power to do good, and that it was not given simply to make man able to do good, but constantly, and so as to merit heaven; so that it being taken away, a man may decline each particular sin, and do the several works of virtue, though neither so as never to sin, nor so as to merit heaven thereby. But we say, there neither was nor could be any power in nature as of itself, to do any act morally good, or not sinful; that grace was given to enable men to perform the actions of their principal powers about their principal objects, and to do good; and that it being taken away, there is found in them an impotency to do any act of virtue, and a necessity of sinning in all their moral actions, till they be restored again to the state of grace; that the difficulty to do good, proneness to evil, contrariety between the powers and faculties of the soul, and the rebellion of the meaner against the superior and better, are not the conditions of nature, but that all these proceed from the putting of the powers of the soul, by the loss of grace, out of that course which, by the law of God and nature, they were to hold."<sup>3</sup>

Melancthon similarly describes original sin as *justitiæ originalis carentiam*,<sup>4</sup> the want or absence of original righteousness;

<sup>1</sup> "Quod autem ad animam pertinet, eum ad imaginem et similitudinem suam formavit, liberumque ei arbitrium tribuit; omnes præterea motus animi atque appetitiones ita in eo temperavit, ut rationis imperio nunquam non parerent. Tum *originalis justitiæ donum* addidit." *Catechismus ex Decreto Conc. Trident. ad Parochos*, Pars I. c. 2, Quæst. 19, p. 23. Lipsiæ, Tauchnitz, 1847.

<sup>2</sup> "In summam illam incidit calamitatem, ut sanctitatem et justitiam in quâ constitutus fuerat, amitteret."—*Ibid.* Pars I. c. 3, Quæst. 2, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> Field's *Book of the Church*. Appendix to the 3rd Book, c. 5, pp. 252, 253.

<sup>4</sup> *Apologia Confessionis*, c. 1, Art. 2, § 17, p. 58. *Libri Symbolici Eccl. Luther.* Lipsiæ, 1847.

and that must be indeed wanting to us from which we are *very far gone*.

To turn from the doctrine of Original Sin to that of the Atonement, the following words surely read like an indirect attack upon this truth of truths, that the Lamb of God gave himself, for our ransom price, a sin-offering upon the cross: "Salvation from evil through sharing the Saviour's spirit, was shifted into a notion of purchase from God through the price of his bodily pangs."<sup>1</sup> But in his *Lampeter Theology*, Dr. Williams has descended to the most palpable misstatements, following in the steps of Mr. Maurice, as does Mr. Maurice in those of the older Socinians: "The common doctrine that *sacrifice* means properly slaying an animal, and that our prayers and sacraments are only figurative sacrifices, is just the reverse of truth. For the truest of all sacrifices is the consecration of the heart and being; and the slaughter of animals was only a figure to represent this."<sup>2</sup> What was the sin-offering but an atonement, in the original *a ransom*, an expiatory sacrifice pointing to the substitution of the Lamb of God in our place to bear and to bear away our sins? And to the naturalness of the doctrine of a satisfaction for sin, Dr. Williams himself had but a few years before witnessed in the strongest language that an overflowing heart could have conceived. Touching upon the religion of our British ancestors, he observes: "It was also one of their ideas, that no less a sacrifice than the life of man was required to appease that heavenly power whom they believed to witness our actions and to judge us accordingly. Some persons may remark, that such a ritual of blood savours of Moloch; while others may take a pleasure in comparing it rather with the trial of faith, when the patriarch withheld not from Jehovah his son, even his only son whom he loved. Or again, it may be considered an unconscious prophecy among the heathen of a more perfect oblation to be offered. But no candid observer will refuse to admit, that, however fierce were such customs, they yet existed among a people, who had deep thoughts of the unseen God, and of the value of the soul in his sight, since they thought it could be redeemed by no sacrifice less precious than that of itself."<sup>3</sup>

3. Dr. Williams' observations respecting the belief of the Fathers as regards the Holy Trinity, are so vague and unintelligible as to confuse the reader; neither do his references to the very valuable work of the late Bishop of Lincoln throw light upon the enigmatical language of Dr. Williams.<sup>4</sup> But his

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> *Rational Godliness*, Sermon 3, pp. 32,

33. I have quoted this passage indeed previously, but in another connection.

<sup>4</sup> See *Essays and Reviews*, p. 87. The known integrity and moderation of the learned author of *Some Account of the Council of Nicæa in connexion with the Life of Athanasius*, raised him up enemies,

assertion that the primitive doctrine "represented neither three originant principles nor three transient phases, but three eternal subsistences in one divine mind,"<sup>1</sup> is to me an indication that he does not reject the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. In the next page, indeed, he opposes the Athanasian Creed to Athanasius, affirming the Creed to be directly at variance with his writings. This again is one of his enigmas.

## XI.

### ON INSPIRATION.

1. Dr. Williams unhappily used the most *inconsistent* language respecting the Holy Scriptures in that remarkable volume entitled *Rational Godliness*. Thus, in his *Rational Godliness*, in passages which are not perhaps so expressed but that they might have been expressed more clearly, it is laid down that the Bible is the rule of faith, the complete revelation. Take the whole of the following passage in the 7th sermon: "To his providence and his Holy Spirit be ascribed the work of raising up many servants, such as Melchisedec, Moses, and Samuel; and so of keeping alive in the world an elect assembly, of priest, and prophet, and saint; who, however imperfect in their generation, still leavened with the fear of God the perverseness of man's heart; trampling over influences apparently most powerful and most opposed. That a succession of such men has never been extinct, but has rather waxed mightier in persecution; that in the earlier stages of its progress it embodied its own experiences in writing, whereby we possess both a *faithful record* of the past, and a written voice of the Church, *wherewith all subsequent utterances of the Holy Spirit through the reason of man must submit to be compared, so as to be tested thereby*."<sup>2</sup> It may be truly said that the Apostles called upon their bearers to test their divinely inspired teaching by that of the Old Testament. I know not whether this was the idea that was in the mind of Dr. Williams when he wrote this paragraph. But whatsoever is its meaning, it appears to convey this, that the Bible is the *law of faith*. In Mr. Wilson's Essay we look in vain for such a sentiment as the following: "The infidel knows not how, in losing *the embodiment of a fixed historical belief*, that passionate and mystical love of God, which he prizes, is apt to evaporate, like water without a vessel."<sup>3</sup> The Unitarian, who is in reality an unbeliever, does in some instances recognise this passionate and mystical love, but he has no fixed

and most ungenerous enemies, but only amongst those whose hearts were set rather upon Rome than upon the Church of which they were ostensibly members. If any besides did not appreciate him, it was through that injustice which is in-

variably fostered by mere party-spirit, however specious its pretexts, or sanctionious its disguises.

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Rational Godliness*, Sermon. 7, p. 103.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 190.

historical belief. That belief in the miraculous Conception which formed an undoubted portion of the creed of the earlier Socinians he disavows. And he finds himself compelled to deny that which the New Testament affirms, that our Lord was the object of the adoration of all his disciples, who were all known by this that they *called upon his name*. It is a pretext too flimsy to deceive themselves, when they have recourse to grammatical criticisms in these and a thousand other instances where the Scriptures are against them.

Again, the New Testament is expressly recognised as the saving truth of Christ, and as the rule and standard of Christianity, in the fourth sermon. There Dr. Williams says: "We, too, like St. Paul, may have our hearts warmed by whatever is glowing and excellent in the older writers; we, like him, may trace the great stream of divine Providence, and admire the unconscious prefigurements of the great Teacher of the world: we, moreover, unlike him, may gather corresponding instruction from his own writings also, and from those of his companions in the ministry of the Word. For though these later writings are scarcely comprised in the Scriptural canon to which our Saviour appealed, yet they come from men who had the best opportunities of information; who had seen the Son of God incarnate, and had been animated by the Holy Spirit of God descending: who also, in the power of what they believed, either from eyesight or from credible testimony, converted kingdoms, and built up the Church of Christ on the ruins of the gigantic power which they overthrew. *Either the Apostles therefore understood Christianity, or else no one did.* And now, suppose St. John or St. Peter were at present to re-appear on earth, with what eager and devout curiosity should not we appeal to either of them in our controversies, and entreat him to clear up our difficulties! Who would deny his narrative of some miracle of our Lord's, or dispute his opinion as to what was pure and undefiled religion? But then, may we not say that such a power of appeal is already in our hands? St. John writing cannot be less trustworthy than St. John preaching. In neither case could he be termed omniscient; in both cases men might carry away a wrong conception of his meaning; yet surely in both we ought (as Christians) to award him and his fellows a respectful and candid hearing. On this ground then, that the Apostles, generally, saw our Lord, and had the best means of information as to his religion, their writings seem to be properly added to those of the Old Testament *which they explain*. They were men, indeed, compassed with infirmities like ourselves, and they professed only to know in part, and to prophesy in part. *Yet God has not given us any higher written authority, and the highest which He has given must be sufficient for our salvation.*"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Rational Godliness*, pp. 58, 59.



A few lines further on Dr. Williams recognises the three Creeds and the Prayer-book as a key to the Bible: "But," he says, "if you are content to start with such a key as the Church puts into your hands in the form of the three primitive Creeds, or of the English Prayer-book generally, you cannot go greatly wrong, even in speculation."<sup>1</sup>

2. But on the other hand, we meet with such passages as the following: "Their epistles are inspired, because their lives were full of the Spirit of God."<sup>2</sup> This might surely be adduced as lowering the idea of inspiration, nay as annihilating that idea in its highest meaning. The same may be said of his words in the 19th sermon, preached before the University of Cambridge on the 2nd Sunday in Advent, December 1854: "It may be that the Lord writes the Bible on the same principle as the Lord builds the city; or that He teaches the Psalmist to sing in the same sense as He teaches his fingers to fight; thus that the composition of Scripture is attributed to the Almighty, just as sowing and threshing are said to be taught by him;<sup>3</sup> for every part played by man comes from the divine Disposer of the scene."<sup>4</sup> So the worst, as well as the best of books might be said to be written by God. A little further on he explains his meaning by saying that it "pleased the Giver of all wisdom to bring about for us through his providence the writing of these sacred books."

3. Amidst some sentiments of very questionable import in this sermon, we read that St. Paul included the book of Genesis in the law, of the nature and obligation of which he treated in his Epistle to the Galatians. And again we read that "it may be fairly questioned how far *the poetry in Joshua* about the sun standing still, or the allegory in *Jonah* about the whale, ought to be interpreted literally."<sup>5</sup> After such an impeachment of the truth of Scripture, the degree of Doctor of Divinity ought not to have been conferred upon the preacher. To what purpose did he, in the same sermon, maintain that "to ourselves as members of the Church of England the great standard of theological doctrine must be that volume of Holy Scriptures, etc.,"<sup>6</sup> if that volume be historically untrue? Most infelicitous and most injurious to the claims of the Holy Scriptures too was his remark, that it might be that the Lord taught the Psalmist to sing as he taught his fingers to fight. Time was when David was called 'the Prophet' as familiarly in sermons as he is now called the Psalmist. But this character is by implication denied him by this suggestion of Dr. Williams. Nay, he took this opportunity of giving out before the University, that "the entire question of prophecy requires to be opened again from its

<sup>1</sup> *Rational Godliness*, p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> Sermon 14, p. 206.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xxviii. 23—29.

<sup>4</sup> *Rational Godliness*, p. 292.

<sup>5</sup> p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> p. 288.

very foundation,"<sup>1</sup> an assertion which is at once an impeachment of the prophetic character of the Old Testament, and of the truth of our Lord's own claims to his Messiahship, which he rested not on miracles only, but upon prophecy. After such an assertion, Dr. Williams ought not to have been admitted to the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Our prelates may justly complain that from them *alone* it is expected to rescue the Church from the perils of false doctrine.

4. At the end of this sermon the author avows his rejection of the second Epistle of St. Peter. The external evidence for this epistle has not always been fully represented. It is very inadequately stated in John David Michaelis' Introduction to the New Testament. He alludes to a passage in Origen where that writer speaks of this epistle as being doubted by some, but omits Origen's clear testimony to its genuineness in his 7th homily on Joshua, *Petrus duabus epistolarum suarum personat tubis*.<sup>2</sup> With my beloved friend, Bishop Kaye,<sup>3</sup> I doubt whether Clemens Alexandrinus may be assumed to have had this Epistle in view merely on the ground of his also using the expression *the way of truth* in his *Address to the Gentiles*. It occurs indeed in 2 Pet. chap. ii., but it might have presented itself independently to the mind of Clement. In the encyclical Epistle of Athanasius, this Epistle is included amongst the canonical books, as also by the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 365.

In the Epistle of Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, to Cyprian, an allusion is made to the commencement of the second chapter; for to that, rather than to chap. 3. 17, his words respecting the Apostles Peter and Paul, *qui in epistolis suis hæreticos execrati sunt, et ut eos evitemus monuerunt*,<sup>4</sup> seem to refer. Leonard Twells also adds Novatian, about the middle of the third century. But in the fourth it was received in Palestine by the elder Cyril; in Cyprus by Epiphanius; in Syria by Ephræm;<sup>5</sup> in Alexandria by Athanasius and Macarius; in Africa by Augustine; in Gaul by Hilary; in Italy by Ambrose, Philastrius of Brescia, and Rufinus; at Rome by Hilary; and above all, it was confirmed by the judgment of St. Jerome, who justly set aside the doubts that had been raised against this epistle on the alleged difference between this and the first epistle.<sup>6</sup> Besides Lardner, the student who is desirous of satisfying himself upon the genuineness of the Second Epistle, will find ample evidence in its favour in the *Introductions* of

<sup>1</sup> *Rational Godliness*, pp. 306, 307.

<sup>2</sup> Origen also quotes it as genuine in his *Exposition of the Romans*. See Wucherer's *Wort der Wahrheit*, vol. ii. p. 134.

<sup>3</sup> *Some Account of the Writings and Opinions of Clemens Alexandrinus*, p. 272. Lond. Rivingtons, 1835.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Routh's *Script. Eccles. Opusc.* tom. i. p. 255. Oxon. 1832.

<sup>5</sup> *Opp. Syr.* tom. ii. p. 342. *Opp. Græc.* tom. ii. p. 387.

<sup>6</sup> Both Dr. Doddridge and Michaelis have vindicated its authenticity on the ground of internal evidence.

*Credner* and *Guericke* to the New Testament. It was clearly in the hands of *Clemens Romanus*, who made use of it as the production of the Apostle, in the 7th chapter of his Epistle to the Corinthians.<sup>1</sup> It was also quoted in the Shepherd of *Hermas*,<sup>2</sup> in *Justin Martyr's* Dialogue, *Irenæus*, and *Theophilus*.<sup>3</sup> *Credner* remarks that by the end of the fourth century it was received by the whole Church.<sup>4</sup>

5. Dr. Williams' doubts respecting the taxing of *Cyrenius*<sup>5</sup> might have been set at rest by the remarks of *Deyling* in the 48th section of the first volume of his *Observationes Sacrae*, written above a century ago; but with too many of the moderns nothing but what is modern will suffice. If they undertake to write commentaries, they all but ignore not only the Fathers, but *Whitby* and *Grotius*, *Wolf* and *Wetstein*. The resolution of this question by *Deyling* is indeed illustrated by him, but confessedly grounded upon the Syriac Version itself, in which he states that it is intimated that the taxing mentioned at the beginning of the second chapter is called the *first* taxing of *Cyrenius*, to distinguish it from the second taxing made by him, which is mentioned by *St. Luke* in *Acts* 5. 37. *Deyling* shews from the instance of *Germanicus* in the thirty-fifth chapter of the first book of *Tacitus' Annals*, that the making of a census was entrusted to extraordinary officers who in respect of their temporary authority might be said to have the command.<sup>6</sup> This view is corroborated by the connection of *Cyrenius* with *Cilicia*, a circumstance that has lately been brought into prominence by the researches of *Zumpt*.<sup>7</sup>

6. Lastly, Dr. Williams apologises for the *Cretans* as suffering under an unjust imputation of falsehood. He says, "The *Cretans* had lying ascribed to them more than other Greeks, probably because they were great antiquarians."<sup>8</sup> What if *Callimachus* charged them with falsehood because they truly affirmed that they had in their island the sepulchre of the *Cretan Jove*? It does not appear that the *Cretan* poet *Epimenides*, whose words he quoted, fixed this stigma of falsehood upon his countrymen on that account. *Epimenides* flourished about B.C. 560, *Callimachus* in B.C. 256.

7. The loose and justly objectionable statements of Dr.

<sup>1</sup> *Patres Apost.* ed. Jacobson, tom. i. p. 94. Oxon. 1838.

<sup>2</sup> *Visio* 3, § 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Irenæus adv. Hær.* v. 2. 3. 3, from 2 Pet. iii. 8. *Theophilus ad Autolyicum*, ii. 13, from 2 Pet. i. 19. See further *Guericke's Einleitung*, pp. 472, 473. Leipzig. 1854.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Karl. August. *Credner's Einleitung in das N. T.*, p. 671. Halle, 1836.

<sup>5</sup> *Rational Godliness*, p. 311.

<sup>6</sup> ἡγεμονεύοντος.

<sup>7</sup> *Deyling's Obs. Sacrae*, tom. i. pp.

233—243. Lipsiæ 1735. The Rev. C. J. Ellicott's *Historical Lectures on the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ*, p. 58. Lond. J. W. Parker, 1860; the most valuable of all his works, and that has already reached a second edition. This reference is to the first. *Zumpt's Commentationes Epigraphicæ*, Part II. pp. 88—103, is also commented upon by Dr. Moberly, p. 50, *Remarks on Essays and Reviews*, 2nd edit. Oxf. and Lond. Parker, 1861.

<sup>8</sup> *Rational Godliness*, p. 311.

Williams on the subject of inspiration, in his sermons entitled *Rational Godliness*, were the occasion of a series of very carefully prepared remarks upon this important topic, in a Charge of his Diocesan, Dr. Connop Thirlwall, Bishop of St. David's.<sup>1</sup>

Respecting Dr. Williams himself, his Diocesan, in summing up his review of the volume so constantly alluded to in these pages, gives the following opinion: "I cannot therefore be surprised, that the work should in some minds have left the painful impression that its ultimate tendency is to efface the distinction between natural and revealed religion. But I gladly declare my conviction, that if there be such a tendency in it, it is only in the letter of the book, and not in the consciousness of the author."<sup>2</sup>

But the question of inspiration and of Dr. Williams' opinions respecting it is not disposed of in the very candid decision of his Diocesan given above. It still remains true that the attacks of Dr. Williams upon prophecy are at variance with the voice of the Church in the *Nicene Creed*, which affirms that the Holy Spirit spake by the prophets. We have already seen also that he uses language which appears to militate against the inspiration of the Apostles. "Nor will you sever," he says, "their inspiration from that of the congregation at large, when they exclaim, '*I think that I too*,' that is, 'I, as well as others, have the Spirit of God.'"<sup>3</sup> Such sentiments are surely opposed to the teaching of his own and of the whole Christian Church.

8. But a still more hostile attack upon the Holy Scriptures has been made by Professor Jowett, who appears as the advocate of purely natural religion in opposition to a revelation of doctrines traceable to Scripture and resting upon it. He foretels a day when the Bible will be no longer appealed to as the witness of the opinions of particular sects, or of our own age, and in which it will cease to be the battlefield of controversies.<sup>4</sup> This can only take place when it shall cease to be known as *Holy Scripture*. Professor Jowett will indeed complain that he is misrepresented. He admits in terms, of the Jewish and Christian revelations; but almost in the same breath affirms that the inspired writers themselves "had a separate and individual mode of regarding the Gospel of Christ."<sup>5</sup> The Arian, the Socinian, and the orthodox believer have indeed a separate and individual mode of regarding the Gospel; but it was not so with the Apostles Peter, James, John, and Paul. It is identically the same view of the Gospel in every apostolic writing, although that Gospel is treated of more fully in one writing than in another. A little farther we find Professor Jowett maintaining, that the New Testament so far from being the voice of

<sup>1</sup> Charge delivered at his Sixth Visitation, 1857, pp. 64—87. Lond. Rivingtons.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 86.

<sup>3</sup> *Rational Godliness*, p. 310.

<sup>4</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 425.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 426.

inspiration, favours the most contradictory views upon one of the most practical points that can enter into pastoral teaching. We are told that Protestants in some respects as much so as Catholics<sup>1</sup>—that rival sects in our own day—Calvinists and Arminians—*those who maintain and those who deny the final restoration of man*—may equally find texts which seem to favour their respective tenets.<sup>2</sup> But what shall be said to the Professor's reference to Romans 11. 32, as favouring the final restoration of man? It will surely remind not a few readers of the notable saying of Albertus Pighius, recorded in Jewel's famous Apology, that the Scriptures are a nose of wax.<sup>3</sup> And indeed the Scriptures must be a very nose of wax to be at once Romish and Protestant, and to teach at once Predestination and the contrary to it, Universal Restoration and the contrary to it! Were this indeed the popular opinion respecting the Scriptures, they would soon be as generally slighted as they are revered. Such uncertain oracles as they would become in the hands of Professor Jowett and his fellow-Essayists, would soon cease to be *the battlefield of controversies*. Professor Jowett still proceeds to speak of "the truth of the book."<sup>4</sup> A book thus full of contradictions must cease to be identified with truth.

9. The Apostles took the Old Testament with them when they went forth as the ambassadors of Christ with the offer of salvation to a heathen world. Thus equipped for their high purpose, God prospered their labours, and Rome heathen became Rome Christian. And it was only by the gradual dethronement of his Word that Rome Christian became a second time Rome heathen, full of the worship of the creature, of saints and angels, and of very many other objects of devotion who were neither the one nor the other.

Professor Jowett, with his more modern theory of Christianity, would have our missionaries far otherwise qualified and armed than were the Apostles. He would have them go forth not with *the book*, but with what he is pleased to designate *the truth of the book*. And what is this? no doctrine of salvation through a Redeemer; this apostolic Gospel the Professor has long since discarded for the Socinian hypothesis; but simply the moral instruction conveyed in the New Testament. What the Apostles did, he would have no longer done; the Word which they carried with them everywhere, he would have everywhere laid aside. "They," the heathen, he says, "are in one state of the world, and the missionary who teaches them is in another, and the book through which they are taught does not altogether coincide with either. Many difficulties thus arise, which we are most likely to be successful in meeting when we look them in

<sup>1</sup> See *Essays and Reviews*, p. 366.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 426.

<sup>3</sup> Jewel's *Apology*, p. 117, edited by

A. T. Russell. Camb. Stevenson; Oxf. Parker, 1839.

<sup>4</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 427.



the face. To one inference they clearly point, which is this, that it is not the book of Scripture which we should seek to give them, to be revered *like the Vedas or the Koran*, and consecrated in its words and letters, but the truth of the book, the mind of Christ and his Apostles, in which all lesser details and differences should be lost and absorbed. We want to awaken in them the sense that God is their Father and they his children; *that is of more importance than any theory about the inspiration of Scripture*. But to teach in this spirit, the missionary should himself be able to separate the accidents from the essence of religion; he should be conscious that the power of the Gospel resides not in the particulars of theology, but in the Christian life."<sup>1</sup> What then are the particulars of theology? That the Son of God took upon him our nature, that we through his mediation might be made the sons of God; that for us men and for our salvation he who was God became man; was crucified, died; was buried; and rose again the third day according to the Scriptures; that he ascended up into heaven, thence to send to his Church the Holy Ghost the Comforter, to be our guide into his truth and to himself, and so to abide with us until he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead. But in these particulars of theology, the Gospel, according to Professor Jowett, does not consist, but in those moral lessons which he terms the Christian life, and upon which one and another of those whom the Christian missionary goes forth to convert would dispute as not being the peculiar possession of the Christian teacher. Take away the particulars of theology, and where are the credentials of the Christian ministry? whence the authority of the Christian Church? Take away the particulars of theology, and the missionary will no longer be able to open to the faith of the penitent heathen the gates of heaven; he will, in one word, be the Christian missionary no longer.

The Unitarians have made some little efforts in the way which Professor Jowett has described. And what has been the result? what will be the result?—heathendom unenlightened, idolatry unsubdued. Whence is all this depreciation of both the Old and the New Testament? It can arise only from this, that it is looked upon as a venerable monument of religious history, not as a revelation of the law and will of God. In a theological point of view it is regarded as it is by the looser and less thoughtful theorizer of the present age whether amongst nominal Churchmen or professed Unitarians, as a collection of ambiguous oracles, and of the writings of men as fallible as ourselves. In short, Professor Jowett does not think it worth his while to attempt a consistent view of its theological contents. He does not hold himself bound so much as to imagine that it is consistent as a whole, or that its authors were consistent amongst

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, pp. 427, 428.

themselves. Is this an uncharitable inference? Let us observe his manner of handling the great subject of Predestination. We find in his Essay the three following representations :

“Calvinists and Arminians may equally find texts which seem to favour their respective tenets.” (page 426.)

Secondly, not equally, but *most unequally*: “The Calvinist in fact ignores almost the whole of the sacred volume for the sake of a few verses.” (page 366.)

But thirdly, those few verses do really prove that St. Paul was by anticipation a Calvinist; for, observes Professor Jowett but a little before, “the Calvinist is often hardly dealt with in being deprived of his real standing ground in the third and ninth chapters of the Epistle to the Romans.” (page 366.)

11. If indeed we look into the Professor’s commentary, we shall find that he has taken part with those who, by inserting what the Apostle, according to them, might or should have added, elude the force and obvious intention of his words; thus doing injustice not to the Calvinist only, but to all whether of the Romish or of the Reformed Churches, who not only in the Epistle to the Romans, but in the Law, the Psalms, and the Prophets, in the Gospels, and in one and another Epistle of all the Apostles, find the same doctrine of divine predestination.

12. I know not whether Professor Stanley will deem me uncharitable in these animadversions upon his friend Professor Jowett. But in representing the latter as depreciating the Scriptures and setting them aside as the basis of Christian theology, I do but that justice to Professor Jowett which his writings demand. What can be his opinion, for instance, of St. Paul? Can he regard him as an inspired Apostle, whilst he would have us regard his doctrine as identical with that of Arius? Or can he look upon the Evangelists as divinely taught, or as fit guides for our faith, when he denies that those Creeds, to which he himself as a clergyman of the Church of England professes to adhere, can be identified with the Gospels? From his language upon the godhead of our blessed Saviour and the doctrine of Scripture concerning it, it would appear as though he himself knew not how to satisfy himself respecting the truth of either the Creeds he has subscribed or of the Scriptures which he has solemnly sworn to teach. How can he believe, for instance, in the divine nature of the Son of God and yet own St. Paul for a teacher of Christianity, if, as he affirms, St. Paul taught with Arius that the Son was not equal to the Father?<sup>1</sup> If indeed St. Paul does not so speak of the Son of God, then ought Professor Jowett—who as a man of honour is bound at this moment to profess his belief in the

<sup>1</sup> “He does not speak of him as ‘equal the Father.’” (p. 354.)  
to the Father’ or ‘of one substance with

truth of the three Creeds—to repudiate the writings of the great Apostle as heretical. But from the words that follow we might infer that the Professor was not an Arian but an Unitarian. He more than insinuates that the doctrine of our blessed Saviour's godhead is incompatible with the belief in his manhood. Found anywhere but in the writings of a clergyman still retaining an office in a Christian university, we should take the following for the work of an Unitarian bent upon proving the contradictoriness and impossibility of the doctrine of the Incarnation. "Still greater difficulties would be introduced into the Gospels by the attempt to identify them with the Creeds. We should have to suppose that he was and was not tempted; that when he prayed to his Father he prayed also to himself; that he knew and did not know 'of that hour' of which he as well as the angels were ignorant. How could he have said, *My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?* How could he have doubted whether, when the Son of Man cometh he shall find faith upon the earth?"

I would put it to Professor Stanley whether this is a candid exposition of the Scripture record concerning the Son of God. What, I would ask Professor Jowett, is the natural inference respecting the nature of one whose birth, life, death, resurrection, and triumphant reign in glory were foretold by a long line of prophets and by himself when he appeared to our fallen parents in Paradise? What is the natural inference to be drawn respecting the nature of one whose name was not only the *Son of Man* but the *Son of God*? What must we needs think of one who declared that he was the only Saviour and the future Judge of all men? who said to his disciples that he was *lord* of the Sabbath; that wheresoever two or three were met together in his name, there was he in the midst of them; that he was their lord, and they and all men his servants; that he would be with them to the end of the world; that whosoever loved him, he would with his Father come and make his abode with him; who declared before his enemies that his life was in his own power, and that hereafter they should see him coming in the clouds of heaven; who on the cross promised the penitent thief that he should be with him that day in Paradise; who bade all that would have eternal life, fix their faith on him crucified; and who made the enjoyment of our immortality to depend on his own—*Because I live, ye shall live also*. Such is the Christ of all the Gospels. Let Professor Jowett answer honestly, Is all this the history of a mere man however exalted? Are all these the properties of any nature but the divine? Could such words as those of the Redeemer, as they are recorded in all the Gospels, have been uttered truthfully but by one who was not only man but God? The half-representations therefore of Professor Jowett are misrepresentations of the Gospels. The

only natural inference of a candid reader is, that the Messiah whom they set forth was no other than *Immanuel, God with us*.

Professor Jowett, however, objects as does the Unitarian, *How can these things be?* how can he be divine who professes ignorance? in other words, he is biassed against the doctrines of that Church of which he professes himself a member. I am glad of an opportunity of noticing the superficial nature of that objection, which of all others is the most trite and facile in the hands of the Unitarian. *But of that day and that hour knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father.* Now the very parable which immediately follows those words, is in itself a proof that our Redeemer as the Son of God could not be supposed to be ignorant of that time by the disciples themselves. For the Son of Man is *as a man taking a far journey, who left his house, and gave authority to his servants, and to every man his work, and commanded the porter to watch. Watch ye therefore.*

Upon Professor Jowett and upon the Unitarian the force of these words is lost, because he cannot look upon the Son of God as the Lord of all, who appoints to every man his work, and who must needs therefore know the end of all things and the hour of his own coming. Dr. Williams himself, in his *Rational Godliness*, admits and repeats the most probable interpretation of this passage, that the Son of Man upon earth had no commission to divulge the last hour of the world's career.<sup>1</sup> Neither would this have been otherwise than agreeable to that infusion of the spirit of the Hebrew into the Greek, which is observable in the New Testament as well in the Epistles as in the Gospels. The verb in Hiphil would be the same as *to cause to know*; and so St. Paul clearly uses it when he wrote to the Corinthians, *I determined to know nothing among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.* (1 Cor. ii. 2.)<sup>2</sup>

According to Professor Jowett, therefore, St. Paul was the founder of what was in after years known as Arianism; the Evangelists Matthew, Mark, and Luke were Unitarians or simple Humanitarians: but we find that St. John had also his own peculiar view of the nature of Christ, and that our Lord claimed at least if not godhead, yet much more than manhood. What is this Professor's own belief it is really difficult to ascertain. But I shall be asked, on what authority do I charge Professor Jowett with this distribution of the Evangelists and Apostles into various speculative schools as regards the divine and human nature of our Lord? A part of the evidence has already been given in his own words. His views upon the teaching of St. John and of our Lord he himself lays down in the following state-

<sup>1</sup> *Rational Godliness*, pp. 365, 368.

<sup>2</sup> And so St. Augustine (*De Genesi contra Manichæos*, l. 1, c. 22) explains the

intercession of the Spirit by his causing us to intercede; *quia ipse nos movet ad orandum.*

ments, not indeed altogether without that reserve and obscurity which are everywhere discernible in his Essays and Commentaries. "Neither, as has been already remarked, would the substitution of any other precise or definite rule of faith, as for example the Unitarian, be more favourable to the interpretation of Scripture." I understand the writer to mean Scripture as a whole. For he thus proceeds: "How could the Evangelist St. John have said, *The Word was God*, or *God was the Word* (according to either mode of translating), or how would our Lord himself have said, *I and my Father are one*, if either had meant that Christ was a mere man, a prophet or as one of the prophets? No one who takes words in their natural sense can suppose that *in the beginning* (Joh. 1. 1) means 'at the commencement of the ministry of Christ,' or that *The Word was with God* only relates 'to the withdrawal of Christ to commune with God,' or that 'the Word is said to be God' in the ironical sense of John 10. 35. But while venturing to turn one eye on these (perhaps obsolete) perversions of the meanings of words in old opponents, we must not forget also to keep the other open to our own. The object of the preceding remark is not to enter into controversy with them, or to balance the statements of one side with those of the other, but only to point out the error of introducing into the interpretation of Scripture the notions of a later age, which is common alike to us and them."<sup>1</sup> But does Professor Jowett nevertheless profess faith in the Holy Trinity, whilst he would lead his readers to believe that the first teachers of Christianity were really divided in their opinions respecting the nature and person of our Lord? The following words sound much like such a profession: "Now the Creeds are acknowledged to be a part of Christianity; *they stand in a close relation to the words of Christ and his Apostles*; nor can it be said that any heterodox formula makes a nearer approach to a simple and scriptural rule of faith. Neither is anything gained by contrasting them with Scripture, in which the germs of the expressions used in them are sufficiently apparent." But the next sentence does away with everything like *a close relation to the words of Christ and his Apostles*. "Yet it does not follow that they should be pressed into the service of the interpreter. *The growth of ideas* in the interval which separated the first century from the fourth or sixth makes it impossible to apply the language of the one to the explanation of the other. Between Scripture and the Nicene or Athanasian Creed, a world of the understanding comes in—that world of abstractions and second notions; and mankind are no longer at the same point as when the whole of Christianity was contained in the words, *Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved*, when the gospel centred in the attachment to a living or recently departed friend and Lord."<sup>2</sup> Surely

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, pp. 355, 356.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 353.



the natural import of these words is, that we have in the Creeds ideas, in other words, statements, as little to be found in Scripture or verified by it as the Papal supremacy or Transubstantiation; although indeed it is difficult to conjecture, according to some passages in Professor Jowett's *Essay*, what may and what may not be in Scripture.

We might plead Philippians ii. 6, *Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God*; but this, says our Professor, is a mistranslation.<sup>1</sup> Our Version is in accordance with the preponderance of authority both in the East and in the West; the authority of Athanasius, Chrysostom, and Augustine, and before him, Tertullian, *pariari Deo*.<sup>2</sup>

13. But the Greek Testament is utterly unsafe in Dr. Jowett's hands. He will not retain 1 Tim. iii. 16, as it now stands, because the untrue assertions of Dr. Tregelles and the false criticisms of Tischendorf have been permitted an undue importance, owing to that love of novelty which marks the aspirants to theological reputation in the present day.<sup>3</sup> He passes over the fact that the evidence upon which Matthæi retained the received text has never been disproved; he appears to be ignorant of the circumstance that, in spite of the allegation that patristic testimony makes against it, Matthæi has shewn that it occurs in Cyril and Chrysostom and in the Acts of the Council of Ephesus, A.D. 431.<sup>4</sup>

14. Again, Professor Jowett would corrupt Rom. ix. 5, by altering the punctuation with Tischendorf, Lachmann, and Erasmus. He is willing in this instance to commend Erasmus, whose labours this school of critics have endeavoured to bring into disrepute. How strongly does the manly avowal of Dr. Vaughan<sup>5</sup> contrast with the feeble attempt of Dr. Jowett to set aside this testimony to the catholic doctrine of the proper divinity of our blessed Saviour. The observation of Bishop Middleton upon this passage should have shielded the Apostle from this treatment, which is but too evident a result of the controversial bias of the Professor: "In all the doxologies both of the LXX and of the New Testament in which *εὐλογητὸς* is used, it is placed at the beginning of the sentence. In the New Testament there are five instances all conspiring to prove this usage, in the LXX about forty."<sup>6</sup> Matthæi refers his readers to various testimonies in favour of the received punctuation from Athanasius, Chrysostom, Cyril, and Basil.<sup>7</sup> The general consent

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 352.

<sup>2</sup> *Adv. Marcion*. l. 5, in *fin.* and *de Resurr. Carnis*, c. 6. Athanasius, in fine libri *περὶ τῆς ἐνσάρκου ἐπιφανείας τοῦ Θεοῦ Λόγου*. Aug. *Ep.* 66, *ad Maximum Medicum*, in the editions previous to the Benedictine. And see Forbes, *Instruct. Historico-Theolog.* l. 1, c. 25, p. 43. Amstel. 1702.

<sup>3</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 352.

<sup>4</sup> See Matthæi's *N. T.* 2nd edit. tom. iii. p. 443. Ronneburgi, 1807.

<sup>5</sup> See Dr. Vaughan *On the Epistle to the Romans*, Rom. ix. 5.

<sup>6</sup> Middleton *On the Greek Article*, p. 316, ed. 1841.

<sup>7</sup> Matthæi's *N. T.*, tom. iii. p. 81.

of the Fathers to the usual reading may be seen in Whitby's elaborate note upon this verse, who observes respecting the Old Testament that the phrase occurs twenty times in it, but that in every place *εὐλογητός* goes before, and the article is annexed to the word 'God,' which, says he, is a demonstration that this is a perversion of the sense of the Apostle's words.<sup>1</sup>

15. The same bias is apparent in Professor Jowett's notes upon the tenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. He says of *the Lord* in the 12th verse, "Whether by *κύριος* is meant God or Christ is uncertain."<sup>2</sup> There can however be no doubt that the same Lord is intended in the 12th and in the 14th verse, and that both depend on the five verses immediately preceding the 9th. Can it be doubted for a moment who was in the mind of the Apostle when he wrote, *How shall they believe on him of whom they have not heard?*<sup>3</sup>

I would now return to the point whence I diverged, being led to this divergency by the illustrations which I have here brought together of Professor Jowett's theory, that the writers of the New Testament were disunited in their view of our Saviour's person, some favouring the Unitarian, others other systems. These illustrations of this most heterodox and truly groundless theory were adduced that the reader might see that practically Professor Jowett discarded the idea of any kind of inspiration as connected with the New Testament. His view plainly requires that the sacred writers should be regarded as men who were left to themselves to interpret both the words and actions of our Lord, and who did so without any uniformity of opinion. And in this case, whatsoever may be the ground of our faith, it cannot be the faith of the Evangelists and Apostles. They, according to Professor Jowett, had their several opinions, and were not agreed amongst themselves.

16. The Old Testament is, with Professor Jowett, equally uninspired. The book of Genesis, according to him, is based upon histories upon which we can place no reliance. Its chronology as regards the origin of nations he will have to be altogether at fault, and the account of our first parents to be altogether uncertain. "The best informed," he says, "are of opinion that the history of nations extends back some thousand years before the Mosaic chronology; recent discoveries in geology may perhaps open a further vista of existence for the human species, while it is possible, and may one day be known, that mankind spread not from one but from many centres over the globe; or as others say, that the supply of links which are at present wanting in the chain of animal life may lead to *new conclusions respecting the origin of man.*"<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 53. 6th edit. 1744.

<sup>2</sup> p. 294.

<sup>3</sup> See Rom. x. 12, applied to our Lord

in Pearson *On the Creed*, vol. i. p. 196. Oxf. 2nd edit. 1843.

<sup>4</sup> p. 349.

But a still more impious result follows from this levity of judgment, of which Professor Jowett seems to be the perpetual sport. He here makes light of the teaching of our Redeemer himself. To the Mosaic account of the origin of man he himself gave his sanction in his discourse with the Pharisees, as narrated in the 19th chapter of St. Matthew, and the 10th chapter of St. Luke. He evidently alluded to the history of the fall of our first parents, when he said, as we read in the 8th chapter of St. John, *Ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do. He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him*, ver. 44.

17. So the doctrine of the Fall of man is undermined and taken away, and we have Professor Jowett informing the student, in his *Dissertation on the Imputation of the Sin of Adam*, that "according to St. Paul it is not the act of Adam, but the law that 'brought sin into the world and all our woe.'"<sup>1</sup> We have, according to him, an *evil*, but not a *fallen* nature; "we are one in a common evil nature which, if it be not derived from the sin of Adam, exists as really as if it were!" Such is the theology of this commentator on St. Paul, who, Professor Stanley tells us, enjoys a continental reputation!<sup>2</sup>

18. Inspiration being set aside, and the veracity of both Testaments impugned, what becomes of Revelation? Revelation, as far as can be inferred from the pages of Professor Jowett, (take for instance his *Dissertation upon Natural Religion*,) is the doctrine of the divine unity, spirituality, and providence; and that God will judge all men according to either their piety on the one hand, or if they have had no piety, no especial regard for himself, (a point upon which Professor Jowett represents him as indifferent,) according to their morality. "For," says he, "we know that God is not like some earthly sovereign, who may be offended at the want of attention which we shew to him. He can only estimate us always by our fulfilment of moral and Christian duties."<sup>3</sup>

19. The Old Testament reveals to us a primitive religion, and a primitive and patriarchal tradition. Professor Jowett boldly asserts such a picture to be false. "The theory of a primitive tradition common to all mankind, has only," he says, "to be placed distinctly before the mind, to make us aware that it is the fabric of a vision. But even if it were conceivable, it would be inconsistent with facts."<sup>4</sup> In short, he sees nothing in Reve-

<sup>1</sup> *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans, with critical Notes and Dissertations*, by the Rev. Benjamin Jowett, M.A., Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford, vol. ii. p. 183. 2nd edit. 1859.

<sup>2</sup> "His work on the Epistles of St.

Paul is probably the only English exegetical treatise of our day that has acquired a continental reputation."—*Edinb. Rev.* April 1861, p. 476.

<sup>3</sup> *The Epistles of St. Paul, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 491.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 461. Here and elsewhere

lation, in other words, in the Scriptures, but what agrees with his own ideas of what a revelation should be. He is one of that class of interpreters, who taking up the Scriptures not for the confirmation of their faith, but simply for the sanction of their own reason, bring nothing out of the words of Scripture which they did not first bring out of their own imaginations, and leave to revelation nothing but a shadow and a name.<sup>1</sup>

20. But insult is added to injury. Not only are the Scriptures practically regarded as uninspired, but the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Amos are asserted to have been in some instances false prophets.<sup>2</sup> Here our author simply follows De Wette. This point has been previously noticed. We have seen, however, that the Lord of the prophets himself is not always credited by Professor Jowett. It is nothing to him that he affirmed the truth of the Mosaic account of the creation and fall of man. He divided mankind into two classes; Professor Jowett assures us that we shall err if we apply so exclusive a standard as the New Testament to our own views of society and to our dealings with the world around us.<sup>3</sup> He, for his part, disclaims all sympathy with St. Paul's view of the heathen world, and accordingly enters into an elaborate defence of that idolatry which St. Paul condemned. "The Apostle," he says, "sees the Athenians from Mars hill, 'wholly given to idolatry'; to us the same scene would have revealed wonders of art and beauty, the loss of which the civilized nations of Europe still seem with a degree of seriousness to lament. He thinks of the heathen religions in the spirit of one of the old prophets; to us they are subjects of philosophy also. He makes no distinction between their origin and their decline, the dreams of the childhood of the human race and the fierce and brutal lusts with which they afterwards became polluted; we note many differences between Homer and the corruption of later Greek life, between the rustic simplicity of the old Roman religion and the impurities of the age of Clodius or Tiberius. More and more as they become better known to us, *the original forms of all religions are seen to fall under the category of nature*, and less under that of mind or free-will."<sup>4</sup> And again, he says of the various religions of the heathen world, "It would be a shallow and imaginary explanation of them that they are corruptions of some primeval

as in the *Essays and Reviews*, p. 343. Professor Jowett opposes to the book of Genesis the authority of "ancient histories" and the modern "standard of primeval history."

<sup>1</sup> See Professor Clausen's *Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensis Sacra Scripturae Interpres*. Haunizæ, 1827, pp. 91—98.

"Sed ita temere profecto res agitur, neque sine summo periculo, ne subjectivis quas vocant hominum singulorum sententiis

veritas evangelica magis magisque cedat, quum vix et ne vix quidem fieri possit, quin interpretes, meliora etiam volentes, nihil ex verbis efferant, nisi quod, ante ex ingenio suo intulerint, revelationis autem nil nisi nomen et umbra maneat."

<sup>2</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, pp. 342, 343.

<sup>3</sup> *The Epistles of St. Paul*, &c., vol. ii. pp. 489—494.

<sup>4</sup> *On St. Paul's Epistles*, *Natural Religion*, vol. ii. p. 437.



revelation, or impostures framed by the persuasive arts of magicians and priests."<sup>1</sup>

21. After such a systematic depreciation as we have seen applied to the Scriptures, we shall not be surprised at the absence of any theory of inspiration from the writings of Professor Jowett. Here, as elsewhere, he is *destructive*, not *constructive*. He says, indeed, that the nature of inspiration can only be known from the examination of Scripture.<sup>2</sup> But there are no signs of his having examined Scripture with a view to inform himself or others upon what *is* Inspiration; we only have sundry hints respecting *what it is not*. He says, indeed, that the first answer to the question, What is Inspiration? is that idea of Scripture which we gather from the knowledge of it.<sup>3</sup> But we look in vain for an answer to the question, 'What is that idea?' He appears to have come to no definite conclusions on the subject, or he would not surely suggest to the interpreter of Scripture that "he had better go on his way and leave the more precise definition of the word (Inspiration) to the *progress of knowledge and the results of the study of Scripture*, instead of entangling himself with a theory about it."<sup>4</sup>

He adds, "The word itself is but of yesterday." He could not have said this of the idea which in the Scripture sense must needs have been as old as the Scripture itself. Each book of the Old Testament was regarded as a sacred book, an especial gift of God, not as a mere literary treasure, not as a collection of philosophical speculations, not merely as a record of national history. The testimonies of Josephus and Philo, given in Dr. Lee's elaborate volume on the Inspiration of the Scriptures, are an evidence of this. The appeal to the Scriptures by our Lord and by his Apostles are an evidence of this.<sup>5</sup>

22. That the Scriptures were given by God, that the authors were under a divine influence when they took in hand to write the several portions of the sacred volume, is clear from the nature of the volume itself. It is throughout a preparation for the gospel and a testimony to it.<sup>6</sup> Its sacredness lies here; it is the forerunner of the Son of God. So he said, *Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me*, John 5. 39. And here it will not be out of place to observe that our version, *Search the Scriptures*, is sanctioned by both the Syriac version and the general consent of Christian antiquity, as well of the Latin as of the Greek Church. This has been shewn by Boys, Casaubon, and Father Simon.<sup>7</sup> The Jews themselves were God's witnesses to the

<sup>1</sup> *On St. Paul's Epistles*, &c. p. 437.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 347.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 351.

<sup>5</sup> And see Dr. Wordsworth's *Second Lecture on the Inspiration of the Bible*.

<sup>6</sup> "Et ipse Dominus Librorum Ve-

terum utilitatem breviter demonstravit et definitivum dicens, oportuisse impleri quæ de illo scripta essent," &c. *Augustini De Pecc. Meritis*, tom. vii. Pars prior. l. 1, c. 27, § 53, p. 835. Lugd. 1562.

<sup>7</sup> Boys' *Collatio* in loc.; Casaubon's *Casauboniana*, p. 98; and Father Simon's



great promise of all, the promise of a Saviour; and all subserved to the Son of God; as St. Paul writes to the Colossians, *All things were created by him and for him.*

23. It cannot be denied, that from a very early period it was believed by many that the nature of that inspiration by which the Scriptures were given, was so minute as to extend to every word, and to the very collocation of every word. Such is the doctrine of Inspiration as laid down in the able Romish commentator Estius, upon 2 Tim. iii. 16,<sup>1</sup> a commentator who, notwithstanding his obliquities as a Romish interpreter, is upon many points, and for his learning, everywhere deserving a place in every clergyman's library. This view of inspiration, commonly called *verbal inspiration*, and generally regarded as the same with *plenary inspiration*, cannot indeed claim the authority of an essential article of faith, inasmuch as it has not been universally received by any Church. It has found opponents in the Greek Church, and in the last four centuries in the Romish, the English, and the Lutheran.<sup>2</sup> Mr. Birks observes, in his recent treatise entitled *The Bible and Modern Thought*, that "a less rigid view of the effect of Inspiration," (than one 'so complete as to exclude the slightest error or discrepancy'), "can claim many advocates of deep and earnest piety, and of general soundness in the faith."<sup>3</sup> There is undeniably room for internal evidence here. Are the same facts related or not with a circumstantial sameness? Certain words admitting in themselves of no variation, would as certainly have been given by the Evangelists without variation had they written simply, as is frequently asserted, as the amanuenses of the Holy Spirit. Let us take for instance the words uttered from heaven upon our Lord's Baptism and Transfiguration. In St. Matthew we read:

*This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Matt. iii. 17.

In St. Mark, *Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.* Mark i. 11.

In St. Luke, *Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased.* Luke iii. 22.

This variation has given occasion to some copyists to bring Saints Mark and Luke into closer agreement, and to substitute

*Hist. Crit. N. T.*, lib. iii. p. 303. And see Wolf's *Curæ Philol. in N. T.*, tom. ii. pp. 851, 852; and *Suiceri Thesaurus*.

<sup>1</sup> "Rectè igitur et verissimè ex hoc loco statuitur omnem Scripturam Sacram et Canonicam Spiritu Sancto dictante esse conscriptam, ita nimirum ut non solum sententiæ, sed et verba singula et verborum ordo, ac tota dispositio sit à Deo, tanquam per semetipsum loquente, aut scribente," p. 849. *In Epist. Comm.*

Paris 1653.

<sup>2</sup> See *Commentatio Critica ad Libros Nov. Test. in genere*. Cum Præfatione Dr. Joan. Gottlob. Carpzovii. Accurante Justo Wesselo Rumpæo, D. Ed. 2da. Lipsiæ 1757, pp. 4—6.

<sup>3</sup> *The Bible and Modern Thought*, p. 86, by the Rev. Thomas Rawson Birks, M.A., Rector of Kelshall, Herts. Lond. The Religious Tract Society, 56, Paternoster-row.

in thee from St. Luke for *in whom* in St. Mark. But the discrepancy would still remain between St. Matthew and the other Evangelists.

In the account of the Transfiguration, SS. Mark and Luke both omit the words *in whom I am well pleased*, which are given by St. Matthew.<sup>1</sup>

24. The upholders of verbal inspiration are tempted in such instances to depart from that candour which is above all things required of a Christian, not only by the man of the world, but by his own profession, so simply summed up in our Lord's description of St. Bartholomew, *Behold an Israelite indeed, in whom is no guile*, John 1. 47. Surely these instances might be sufficient to justify the remarks of St. Chrysostom upon this point: *Τί οὖν; οὐκ ἤρκει εἰς εὐαγγελιστὴς πάντα εἰπεῖν; ἤρκει μὲν· ἀλλὰ καὶ τέσσαρες οἱ γράφοντες ὦσι, μήτε κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς, μήτε ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τόποις, μήτε συνελθόντες καὶ διαλεχθέντες ἀλλήλοις· εἴτα ὥσπερ ἀφ' ἐνὸς στόματος πάντα φθέγγονται, μεγίστη τῆς ἀληθείας ἀποδείξις τοῦτο γίνεται, καὶ μὴν τοῦναντίον συνέβη, φησί· πολλαχοῦ γὰρ διαφωνοῦντες ἐλεγχονται. αὐτο μὲν οὖν τοῦτο μέγιστον δείγμα τῆς ἀληθείας ἐστίν. εἰ γὰρ πάντα συνεφώνησαν μετὰ ἀκριβείας, καὶ μέχρι καιροῦ, καὶ μέχρι τόπου, καὶ μέχρι ῥημάτων αὐτῶν, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἐπίστευσε τῶν ἐχθρῶν ὅτι μὴ συνελθόντες ἀπὸ συνθήκης τινὸς ἀνθρωπίνης ἔγραψαν ἅπερ ἔγραψαν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τῆς ἀπλότητος τὴν τοσαύτην συμφωνίαν· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ ἡ δοκουσα ἐν μικροῖς εἶναι διαφωνία, πάσης ἀπαλλάττει αὐτοὺς ὑποψίας, καὶ λαμπρῶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τρόπου τῶν γραφάντων ἀπολογεῖται.*

"What then? would not one Evangelist have sufficed to have related all things? he would indeed have sufficed, but if there should be four writers, and those not all at the same time, nor in the same places, nor coming together and conferring amongst themselves, and yet then everything is delivered as though it were the utterance of but one mouth, this becomes the greatest demonstration of the truth. But, say some, the contrary has fallen out, for they are proved to differ in many points. This indeed, therefore, is the greatest proof of the truth. For if they had harmonised in all things with accuracy both in respect of time and in respect of place, and in respect of their very words, no one of their enemies would have believed that they had not written what they had written without having come together by such a compact as we see to be common in the world, for that such an agreement savours not of genuineness. But now the appearance of disagreement in small points frees them from all suspicion, and most amply vindicates the method of the writers."<sup>2</sup> After this admission of actual dis-

<sup>1</sup> Compare Matt. xvii. 5; Mark ix. 7; Luke ix. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Chrysost. in *Matth.* tom. vii. Hom. 1, p. 5, Paris, 1727. And see Professor Harold Browne's very valuable *Essay on Inspiration*, in the *Aids to Faith*. Lond.

agreement in minor points, St. Chrysostom proceeds to remark that upon all momentous subjects there is an entire agreement; as, for instance, that God was made man, wrought miracles, was crucified and buried, ascended to heaven, and will come again to judgment; that he gave salutary precepts, brought in a law not contrary to the old, and was himself the only begotten, the true Son, of one nature with the Father.

25. Not only does the Scripture itself justify this view of itself and of the Evangelists, but it is, as Chrysostom assumes, a requisite condition of the most interesting and important portions of the New Testament.

Were there only the two variations that have been specified, those namely that occur in the history of our Lord's Baptism and Transfiguration, it would suffice to set aside, in its strict and literal acceptation, that the Evangelists were the amanuenses of the Holy Spirit. It is plain that they were left to their own memory and industry. This is the natural conclusion at which a candid and careful reader would arrive. Take for instance the following variations, and those but a selection.

The sick of the palsy:

Matth. v. 2. *Son, be of good cheer; thy sins be forgiven thee.*

Mark ii. 5. *Son, thy sins be forgiven thee.*

Luke v. 19. *Man, thy sins be forgiven thee.*

But it has been objected, how, if it be so, can we build upon isolated texts, as we of the clergy are wont to do? How, in reply, I would ask, can we do now? We can but compare one account with another, and so supplement one statement with another. And when we come to such a variation as that of the form of address in this instance, *Son* in SS. Matthew and Mark, and *Man* in St. Luke, we naturally infer that the account in SS. Matthew and Mark is more accurate than that of St. Luke. But the joint witness of all the three Evangelists is only strengthened by their independence as narrators. The well-known observation of Paley we have seen anticipated by St. Chrysostom. In accordance with both is the following very forcible passage from Mr. Birks' last publication, *The Bible and Modern Thought*:

"The life, death, and resurrection of Christ, the bases of Christianity, are recorded by four distinct writers in the four Gospels. This agrees with the maxim of the law of Moses and the lesson of common sense, that *in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word should be established*. The plurality of the witnesses is thus made one chief element in the strength of their united testimony. Every view, then, of the inspiration of these

Murray, 1861. This Essay has been, as might have been expected, criticised in some quarters in no very friendly spirit. It is a clear statement of the case, free alike from all exaggeration on the one

hand, and from all unreasonable indefiniteness on the other. The general views of the author may be seen in § 22—24, pp. 317—320.

books which sets aside or obscures the individuality of the four writers, and reduces them to fingers of the same hand used mechanically by the Spirit of God, *defeats one main purpose for which the message was conveyed* to us in its actual form. No further truth respecting the special inspiration of the Evangelists ought to cloud from our view the fact, so conspicuous in itself and so important in reference to the great object of the revelation, that we have a concurrence of four distinct and separate witnesses to all the main facts, and many details of the gospel history."<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Birks indeed maintains that such an admission of discrepancy as amounts to simple divergence, and not to positive contradiction, is nevertheless consistent with plenary and complete inspiration.<sup>2</sup> He has, however, in an earlier part of his volume written as follows: "There is here an important distinction between the doctrinal and prophetic books or passages of Scripture, and the historical books themselves. In the former there is generally a direct or virtual claim of divine authority. *Their* character is totally changed when we view them as purely human. We must accept them as divine, or own them to be an immoral experiment on the credulity of mankind. But the historical books, with the exception of prophetic passages or doctrinal discourses, require no such alternative. The claim to inspiration is not made by each historian on his own behalf. It is not plainly implied by the mere existence of the record. No one without a special commission can reveal heavenly truth, so as to claim with full authority the obedience of mankind. But every honest witness may give a true report of discourses he has heard or events he has seen, or of which copious evidence has been placed within his reach, without special and supernatural inspiration."<sup>3</sup> Now this is what was done by the Evangelists. And hence their real independence, which could only appear by a real divergency in detail, which is, in other words, nothing short of a real inaccuracy in numerous instances of an unessential kind.

To return to these instances. The words of the institution of the Lord's Supper vary in SS. Matthew and Mark from St. Luke, and all three from St. Paul's account in the eleventh chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians, where we have in verse 24, for *given, broken* for you. St. Mark alone has *neither the Son*. Compare Mark 13. 32 with Matt. 24. 36. St. Luke alone has *for all live unto him*.<sup>4</sup> St. Matthew, chap. 24. ver. 20, compared with Mark 13. 18, adds, *neither on the Sabbath-day*. And lastly there is the remarkable discrepancy in the title fixed to the cross. We need not be surprised at this discrepancy.

<sup>1</sup> Birks' *The Bible and Modern Thought*, pp. 87, 88. And see pp. 105, 106, and 108.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. pp. 267, 268.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. pp. 86, 87.

<sup>4</sup> Luke xx. 39; Matt. xxii. 32; Mark xii. 27.

Of all the Evangelists St. John alone was present at the crucifixion, and he gives the title in its fullest, and we cannot doubt, most accurate form, *Jesus of Nazareth, the king of the Jews*. John 19. 19, compared with Matt. 27. 37, Mark 15. 26, Luke 23. 38.

We have various instances in which the Evangelists professed uncertainty; as John 2. 6, *containing two or three furlongs apiece*. John 6. 19, *about five and twenty or thirty furlongs*. John 11. 18, *about fifteen furlongs off*. Luke 9. 28, *about an eight days after these sayings*. I cannot here say with my excellent friend Dr. Wordsworth, "he inspired them to inform us of *their doubts* in these cases, in order that in those other more momentous and mysterious matters, wherein they express *no doubt*, we might feel sure that they speak not from themselves but from God."<sup>1</sup> I would rather acquiesce in the words of Mr. Birks, in his ingenious volume entitled *Modern Rationalism and the Inspiration of the Scriptures*: "Our duty is to follow the direct evidence, and neither to shut our eyes to alleged discrepancies, nor to the testimony of our Lord and his Apostles respecting the real fulness of authority in the Word of God."<sup>2</sup>

26. There he speaks as follows of St. Luke's Gospel: "In the preface to his Gospel he tells us that he had obtained a perfect knowledge of the history from its beginning; and that his purpose was to compose an orderly narrative, so that Theophilus might know the certain truth respecting those things in which he had been instructed as a catechumen, and which were firmly believed by the Church of Christ. He makes no direct claim of any miraculous endowment, and gives no hint that the use of his own faculties was at all superseded by immediate revelation from the Holy Spirit. Any view of his inspiration which contradicts or slurs over this express declaration must be unscriptural and untrue. We may go one step further in our admissions. The truth and accuracy of the Gospel, viewed simply as any other narrative, is plainly affirmed in its own preface. The truth and accuracy of the book of Acts, in a large portion of it, is even more fully confirmed by the undesigned coincidences with St. Paul's Epistles, and by its numerous points of agreement with other historians of those times."<sup>3</sup> "But a special inspiration over and above this historical trustworthiness, if it does exist, is vouched for only in a more indirect and circuitous manner, and requires the comparison of several books of Scripture, and a decision on

<sup>1</sup> *The Inspiration of the Bible*. Five Lectures delivered in Westminster Abbey, by Chr. Wordsworth, D.D., Canon of Westminster, Vicar of Stamford-in-the-Vale. Lond. Rivingtons, 1861, p. 16. A very valuable and concise treatise, in which much very serviceable information is given in a small space and in a simple

and perspicuous style. The conclusion is a specimen of noble and most effective eloquence.

<sup>2</sup> *Modern Rationalism, &c.*, p. 112. Seeleys, Lond. 1853.

<sup>3</sup> See Birks' *The Bible and Modern Thought*, pp. 90—99.



the sense of some controverted passages, to discover the proofs of its reality. Without lowering, then, our veneration for the Scriptures, nay, even as the direct result of that veneration, we may allow that in this case it is more important for the Church to be assured of the historical fidelity of these writers than of their special supervision and control by the Spirit of God. The same reason which caused the divine Oracles to be given by human prophets and penmen rather than to be written, like the tables of the law, by the finger of God, or revealed by voices of thunder from heaven, will apply here also. The glory of our Saviour's person and works becomes perhaps even more conspicuous when our eye is not distracted by the thought of any singularity in the medium by which it is set before us; and the narrative presents to us a merely human aspect, as information procured by careful and diligent enquiry."<sup>1</sup>

27. In the same direction are the observations of Lord Arthur Hervey, in his fifth sermon on the *Inspiration of Holy Scripture*, preached in the University Church, Cambridge, in December 1855. "The narratives of the same event given in Holy Scripture by different writers, while they agree substantially, so as to corroborate one another, and to leave the strongest impression upon the mind, of the veracity and general accuracy of the different writers, have yet those diversities in details which are the sure result of observations, enquiries, historical researches, recollection of past occurrences, description of impressions, and reports of conversations, proceeding from different and independent witnesses; and have not that absolute unity and identity which would be the result of their proceeding immediately from one mind. And the conclusion to be drawn seems necessarily to be that, whatever supernatural gifts of memory, judgment, discretion, wisdom, or utterance the writers may have received, yet their individuality of mind was nowise superseded, nor were they entirely in all cases exempted from human fallibility, but only so far as to qualify them fully for the work committed to them, of preaching the gospel of the grace of God, and communicating the revelation of God's will to man. Nor let it be said that this is an arbitrary distinction without any foundation in Scripture. It purports at least to be the result of a sound induction."<sup>2</sup>

28. I would further commend to those who would, with Mr. Burgon, class such a modified view of inspiration with the doctrinal heresies and sceptical theories of the age, the following accurate statements of the present learned and highly respected

<sup>1</sup> The Rev. T. R. Birks *On Modern Rationalism and on the Inspiration of the Scriptures*, pp. 138, 139. Seeleys, Lond. 1853.

<sup>2</sup> *The Inspiration of Holy Scripture*.

Five Sermons, &c., by the Rev. Lord Arthur Hervey, M.A., Rector of Ickworth with Horringer. Camb. Macmillan and Co. 1856. p. 78.

Bishop of Llandaff: "Upon all those matters which concern the doctrines of Christianity as a divine revelation, the mysterious relations of God and man, the duty of men to men as brethren in Christ, and the glorious hopes of immortality which the Gospel has brought to light, we *do* build upon Holy Scripture as our foundation; we *do* look to it as the voice of God. Upon questions of science it may be admitted that the sacred writers were not acquainted with the discoveries of modern times, for the Bible is a revelation not of scientific but of spiritual truth; and had they been gifted with a knowledge beyond their age, unless a miracle had been wrought in their hearers as well as themselves, their language would not have been understood by those to whom it was addressed. With regard to historical facts and dates, it may be that Almighty God, who does not appear to have adopted a system of optimism in the works of nature, may not have thought fit so to overrule the mental faculties of the writer as to produce a forced and absolute perfection in the record. The substantial agreement of the four Evangelists, combined with their circumstantial variety, is itself an evidence of the truth of the history, for the loss of which a complete identity of statement upon every minute and insignificant particular would have been but a poor compensation."<sup>1</sup>

29. Well would it have been for Mr. Burgon if he had, previously to his recently published Sermons, carefully weighed the more tolerant and thoughtful pages of the Bishop of St. David's Charge of October 1857. In reference to those who with Mr. Burgon would anathematize all who do not maintain the common notion of plenary inspiration, Bishop Thirlwall remarks: "Those only who are not conversant with the subject can fail to be aware that it is beset with conflicting difficulties, between which a choice has to be made; and it is an inevitable incident of our nature, that these difficulties should be variously estimated by different minds, so that what to one appears the greater, should to another appear the less. And there can hardly be a case in which that intolerant spirit, to which I have so frequently alluded in this address, shews itself in a more unamiable light, or with more pernicious effects, than when it confounds the advocates with the assailants of Christianity, and not only rejects their services in behalf of the common cause, but charges them with treachery and apostacy because they would wage the contest on a different ground from that on which it has itself been used to take its stand."<sup>2</sup>

30. In a similar spirit to the foregoing observations were

<sup>1</sup> *A Charge delivered at the Third Visitation of Alfred Ollivant, D.D., Lord Bishop of Llandaff*, pp. 58, 59. Lond. Rivingtons, 1857.

<sup>2</sup> *Charge at the Sixth Visitation of Connop Thirlwall, D.D., Lord Bishop of*

*St. David's*, pp. 69, 70. Lond. Rivingtons, 1857. And see on the human element in Holy Scripture, Bp. Thirlwall's *Letter to Dr. Rowland Williams*, pp. 62, 63. 2nd edit. Lond. Rivingtons, 1861.

the sentiments of the late eminent Bishop of Calcutta, Daniel Wilson, as delivered in his able volumes on the *Evidences of Christianity*.

"Whatever weight the different parts of the sacred edifice were intended to sustain, a correspondent strength of inspiration was placed, as it were, at the foundation."<sup>1</sup>

"Where the usual means of information or the efforts of memory were enough, as in much of the Gospels and Acts, the inspiration of direction may be supposed to have sufficed."<sup>2</sup>

31. Dr. Chalmers has, in his *Scripture Readings*, observed in regard of the Old Testament, that Inspiration was not given where it was not required. On 2 Kings ix. 32, *And there looked out to him two or three eunuchs* :

"There is a graphic effect in the looking out of the two or three eunuchs.

"N.B. Inspiration could have told absolutely whether the number was two or three—but mark how inspiration accommodates itself, and leaves part even of what is recorded to the human faculties."<sup>3</sup>

32. Those who would nevertheless maintain that all must needs be uncertainty if it be admitted that in any instances the sacred writers were left to the unaided use of their own faculties, should consistently affirm the same uncertainty in regard of every historic document of a secular kind. They would shrink from this, whilst yet in the heat of controversy they would so imperil the Holy Scriptures. They cannot gainsay the observation of Dr. Chalmers. They should at once admit the conclusion.

33. Some would indeed endeavour to invalidate the authority of the Old Testament as only entitled to our deference where it is corroborated and ratified by the New. As a divinely sanctioned record, the whole stands upon the same authority with the New Testament. The whole volume as received by the Jews is recognised by our Lord and his Apostles.<sup>4</sup> Certain portions of both the Old and New Testament were designed for temporary purposes; but both together form as a whole, one revelation, one book, one volume of Holy Scripture.

34. Those who, with Professor Jowett and others, would allow the Apostles themselves no inspiration properly so called, deny to them that which our Lord promised them and that which they evidently claim. He promised them the guidance of the Holy Spirit to lead them into all truth. They claimed the fulfilment of that promise. St. Paul claimed a knowledge of the gospel derived immediately from our Lord himself,<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Lect. 13, p. 505.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 507.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Chalmers' *Scripture Readings*, vol. ii. p. 200.

<sup>4</sup> See this topic elaborated in the 10th

chapter of Mr. Birks' volume, entitled *The Bible and Modern Thought*, pp. 204—223.

<sup>5</sup> Gal. i. 12.

the direction of the Holy Spirit in communicating that knowledge to others; *which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth.* (1 Cor. ii. 13.) Accordingly he thus writes to the Thessalonians, *He therefore that despiseth, despiseth not man but God, who hath also given unto us his Holy Spirit.* (1 Thess. iv. 8.)

It is not until men have become unhinged with respect to one and another portion of the great mystery of godliness, the doctrine of salvation, that they are tempted to depreciate the inspiration of the prophets and apostles. This appears to have been the history of Dr. Williams, and justly does his Diocesan bring home to him this twofold charge in his *Letter*. "If," writes Bishop Thirlwall, "his Epistles convey no intelligence but what was known to him by natural instrumentality, I do not understand how he could truly and honestly say that he *neither received his gospel of men, neither was taught it, but by revelation of Jesus Christ*,<sup>1</sup> and could insist and enlarge upon this fact, as he does in the Epistle to the Galatians. I am still more perplexed when you tell me, 'What is peculiar to him is his gospel, or his preaching, that is, his enlarged view of the acceptance of the Gentiles, of the transitoriness of Mosaic ordinances, and of the supremacy of the spirit over the letter.' I cannot admit that this view was peculiar to him, and still less that it was his gospel. The terms on which the Gentiles were to be admitted into the Church were settled by common consent in the Council at Jerusalem. And this was no doubt a point of the highest importance, as it involved the vital question of justification; so that St. Paul might well speak of those *false brethren* who taught that *the Gentiles could not be saved except they were circumcised after the manner of Moses*, as so perverting the gospel of Christ, that it became *another gospel*. But it does not follow that this view, even if it had been peculiar to him, was the whole of his gospel. That would have been indeed a strange kind of gospel. For, in fact, this was something merely negative. The false teachers said expressly, *Without circumcision ye cannot be saved*; and therefore virtually *by circumcision ye are saved*. St. Paul said, 'Not by circumcision or by any such work can ye be saved; and if ye be circumcised under that belief, Christ shall profit you nothing: ye are removed from the grace of Christ unto another gospel.' But the gospel which he had preached must have shewn not how they were not, but how they were to be saved."<sup>2</sup>

35. It is however on the lips of some that St. Paul's controversies are quite independent of the revelation of truth as conveyed by the ministry and life of our blessed Lord himself, as delivered to us in the Gospels. What is this but to call into

<sup>1</sup> Gal. i. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *A Letter to the Rev. Rowland Wil-*

*liams, D.D., pp. 43, 44, and seq.*

question the wisdom of that Saviour who gave the Holy Spirit to his Apostle to guide his Church by his writings, to all generations, and to unfold to all more fully the truths which he had previously published to the world by the prophets, and confirmed by his own teaching as exhibited in St. John's Gospel?

In a similar spirit, when in the last century some faithful and singleminded clergymen brought into greater prominence those essential doctrines of our religion, the corruption of our nature by the Fall, the necessity of that spiritual birth from above without which none can be fitted for the happiness of heaven, and the doctrines of the atonement and of our justification by faith only in the name and merits of our only Saviour, they were charged with undervaluing the Gospels, and needlessly exalting the remainder of the New Testament. All alike containing the revelation of saving truth, they alike demand the submission of faith and the obedience of the heart.

36. But does not St. Paul himself disclaim inspiration in regard to some of his instructions, as when he writes, *But I speak this by permission and not of commandment?* (1 Cor. vii. 6.) The preposition here does not refer to St. Paul but to the Corinthians, as though it had been, 'I write this to you as placing before you a concession, not an injunction. Let it not be thought that with the Jew I impose marriage upon you as a necessity; it is conceded to all as a protection against temptation.'<sup>1</sup>

*And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord.* (1 Cor. vii. 10.) Here I am happy to be able to refer to Professor Stanley himself, who observes on these words, "The contrast here is, not between the apostle inspired and the apostle uninspired, but between the apostle's words and an actual saying of our Lord, as in Matth. v. 32; xxix. 3—10," &c.<sup>2</sup>

The same observation applies to the 12th verse. And so in the case of the 25th verse, upon which Professor Stanley remarks, "Here, as in verse 12, he replies that in this case, which, like the former, was a particular emergency not falling under any general rule, he had no command of Christ to give, but spoke with the authority of an apostle."<sup>3</sup>

Lastly, St. Paul concludes this chapter thus, *But she is happier if she so abide, after my judgment: and I think also that I have the Spirit of God.*

To *δοκῶ* Professor Stanley gives the meaning *I trust*; and this is followed by the comment, "This he adds to give weight to his advice, as *having the authority of the Spirit*, though not supported by any direct saying of our Lord."<sup>4</sup> The late Mr. Slade

<sup>1</sup> See Beza in *N. T.*, p. 473. Camb. Lond. Murray, 1858. 1642. fol.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Stanley *On St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians*. 2nd edit. p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 123.



gives also *I trust* in his *Annotations on the Epistles*.<sup>1</sup> The word is however used *emphatically* to affirm the more positively that which it seems rather to concede. It implies, as Wolf notes on this passage, not an uncertain conjecture, but conviction and knowledge, as in Joh. v. 39, Acts xv. 28, and Matth. xvii. 25.<sup>2</sup>

37. With respect to alleged discrepancies in the New Testament, not a few exist only in the minds of either unlearned readers, or are the creation of inconsiderateness in the minds of some who have not devoted themselves to theological study with sufficient accuracy and patience. I regret to see some such allegations in a volume to which I have had occasion to refer, a volume of mingled excellencies and defects, Lord Arthur Hervey's *Sermons on the Inspiration of Holy Scripture*. For instance, "whether the cock crew once or twice before Peter completed his denial of his Lord"<sup>3</sup> is surely not to be reckoned as a discrepancy. A reference to Rosenmüller himself would have at once removed the seeming difficulty. Dr. Wordsworth has carefully noticed the usual objections to the historical accuracy of the Evangelists in his more voluminous collections on the New Testament. On the difficulties respecting the observation of the Passover by our Lord and his disciples, I would entreat of all who are interested in such inquiries to peruse Deyling's *Observationes Sacræ* on the one hand, and the Notes attached to Dr. Edward Robinson's *Harmony of the Four Gospels* on the other.<sup>4</sup>

## XII.

### REJECTION OF THE SCRIPTURES AS A RULE OF MORALITY AND FAITH.

1. Professor Jowett, owning nothing in reality beyond his own very defective ideas of natural religion, maintains, in opposition to the first commandment, that idolatry is not an essential evil, but rooted in a natural instinct, the result simply of "a lower stage of human nature." So Professor Jowett in his *Dissertation on the Connexion of Immorality and Idolatry*. The following is his interpretation of St. Paul's view of idolatry, surely in most glaring opposition not only to the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans, where, says Professor Jowett, the Apostle speaks not as a philosopher but as one of the prophets, but by natural consequence in opposition to the united voice of the law and the prophets: "An idol is nothing in the world," says the Apostle, "yet he that commits fornication sins against

<sup>1</sup> Second edit. vol. i. p. 228.

<sup>2</sup> *Cursus Philol. in N. T.*, tom. iii. p. 417. Basle, 1741.

<sup>3</sup> Lord Arthur Hervey, p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> Deyling, *Observat. Miscell.* Lipsiæ, 1736. *De Origine S. Eucharistiæ*, § 21, et seq. p. 242. Dr. Edward Robinson's

*Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek according to the text of Hahn*. Revised edit. Boston, U.S. Crocker and Brewster, 1853. See a third but unlikely hypothesis in Dr. Fairbairn's *Hermeneutical Manual*, pp. 334—353. Edinb. 1858.

his own body. It is foolishness to bow to an idol; but immorality and licentiousness are real and essential evil. No mere outward act can make a man different from what he was before, while no inward act can leave him the same after or before its performance." The natural conclusion is that idolatry is indeed a folly, but not an essential evil. One could have looked for such a sentiment only from an Atheist. The first and second commandments are, according to this standard, denunciations not of a moral evil, the greatest of all evils as being the source of the worst, and as dethroning him who is the great lawgiver of the universe. They simply denounce a folly!

2. But the Apostle Paul is made to appear the father of this impious rejection of the universal curse pronounced in Holy Writ upon idolatry. How can Professor Jowett unite in the Service for Ash-Wednesday, and say Amen to the curse pronounced alike upon the unmerciful, *fornicators*, and adulterers, covetous persons, *and idolaters*? The idolater with him is guilty of no immorality but of folly only, and that of a kind which Professor Jowett exempts from his catalogue of essential evils.

But I said, this gross and palpable impiety he has fathered upon the Apostle by a foolish ingenuity that has probably misled many of his readers; for those at least who read his writings with his own prepossessions are not in general sufficiently imbued with that Christian veneration of the Scriptures which will lead them to a deep and a familiar acquaintance with them. Professor Jowett has strung together two separate passages from the first Epistle to the Corinthians in such a manner as to impose upon the reader the impression that St. Paul is giving utterance to the Professor's judgment, and drawing the contrast for him between the idolater and the fornicator. In the eighth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians we read, *As concerning therefore the eating of those things which are offered in sacrifice unto idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one.* The emphasis is on *we know*, as may be seen from the 7th verse, *Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge: for some with conscience of the idol unto this hour eat it as a thing offered unto an idol; and their conscience being weak is defiled.* The Apostle simply points to the nothingness of the idol. Here I cannot but observe the unhappy effect which the fashionable folly of taking Lachmann and Tischendorf as guides in New Testament criticism has had upon the labours of Professor Stanley, who substitutes the strange reading of Lachmann *συνῆλθα* for *συνειδήσει*. His own unmeaning translation might have led him to doubt the propriety of the change; *But some by intercourse with the idol!* Tischendorf himself would not venture here to follow A and B, whilst those corrupt MSS. D, E, F, G, and the Vulgate, have not admitted this corruption of the text.

The other passage brought into close connexion with St. Paul's words in the 4th verse of the eighth chapter, *an idol is nothing in the world*, is taken from the 18th verse of the sixth chapter, *Every sin that a man doeth is without the body; but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body*. Here St. Paul is not contrasting one class of sins with another, but fornication with all other sins as a sin more especially against the body.

3. Thus Professor Jowett rejects the Old Testament standard of right and wrong. Idolatry with him is not an essential evil. How should it be so in his eyes, who, in his *Essay on Natural Religion*, says, "We know that God is not like some earthly sovereign who may be offended at the want of attention which we shew to him?"<sup>1</sup> Taking up another standard of right and wrong than that of the Scriptures, what is the result? He has honestly confessed it, and the confession is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. Respecting the great majority of mankind, at least in a Christian country, he says that "it would be a mistake to say that they are without religion,"<sup>2</sup> although lamentably deficient in grateful love to their Redeemer: "they die without any great fear or lively faith: *to the last more interested about concerns of this world than about the hope of another*. In the Christian sense, *they are neither proud nor humble; they have seldom experienced the sense of sin; they have never felt keenly the need of forgiveness*."<sup>3</sup> What shall become of these? Most careful readers of the Scriptures, if not all, would feel little hesitation in making up their opinion. The acknowledged duty of the ambassador of Christ is to declare solemnly to such lukewarm, worldly-minded Christians, that as they are content to live without the hopes, so they can only and in reason look forward to death unsupported by the consolations of the Gospel. What Professor Jowett would preach to those whom he here describes I know not; but after his favourable opinion of them, as men whose religion, such as it is, has some claims upon the divine justice, what follows does not surprise me: "The Scripture speaks to us of two classes, represented by the Church and the world, the wheat and the tares, the sheep and the goats, the friends and enemies of God. *We cannot say in which of these two divisions we should find a place for them*."<sup>4</sup> It would appear that the Apostle Paul felt no such difficulty, nay, would have regarded the confession of Professor Jowett as the very height of profanity. His words respecting this very class of persons, who are, in the strange language of Professor Jowett, "in the Christian sense neither proud nor humble," is nothing short of this, "*If any man love not the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be*

<sup>1</sup> Professor Jowett's *Essay on Natural Religion*, p. 491.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 489.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 489.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

*Anathema Maran-Atha*, (1 Cor. xvi. 22);<sup>1</sup> that is, *The Lord cometh*. So that learned Orientalist, Christian Benedict Michaelis, in his very valuable Latin Dissertation on the Various Readings of the New Testament.<sup>2</sup>

4. I come now again to the most mournful spectacle which the present age has witnessed, the toleration of a body of clergymen in our Church who have both preached and published against the doctrine of the Atonement. This doctrine has been openly disowned and publicly attacked by Professor Jowett, Mr. Maurice, late of Lincoln's Inn, Mr. Davies of Christ Church, St. Marylebone, and not by them alone.<sup>3</sup> In some other communions but a few weeks would have been permitted to elapse before such false teachers would have been publicly dismissed and disgraced. I trust that we shall live to see our Church delivered from the stain that unhappily rests upon her from the toleration of such false teaching in her communion. The Bishop of Winchester indeed has faithfully performed his duty, by procuring the deprivation of Mr. Heath. He has the thanks of all who agree with the Bishop of St. David's, that "there can be no doubt that the central positive truth of the gospel is the doctrine that Christ died for our sins and rose again for our justification."<sup>4</sup> The rejection of the Atonement, our hope of salvation, accounts for the slight put upon our adorable Saviour by the system of Professor Jowett, which acquits of impiety the want of love to him in those multitudes in a Christian land who yet join in the most solemn professions of belief in his redeeming love and grace, as they unite in the confession that he is the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world. He disdains the doctrine of both the Old and New Testament, that our Lord is the propitiation for our sins. This it is that is the foundation of that love of him which filled the hearts and inspired the zeal of his Apostles. The doctrine of the Atonement, the substance of that truth, however men may vary in regard of the detail and manner of expression, is affirmed as a fact and not simply as a doctrine, when the beloved disciple calls our blessed Lord *the propitiation for our sins*. But the very need of a propitiation is maintained by Professor Jowett, Mr. Maurice, and Mr. Davies, to be a speculation inconsistent with right views of the divine nature and government. If there be any truth in Professor Jowett's notorious *Dissertation on Atonement and Satisfaction*, in Mr. Maurice's work upon *Sacrifice*, and Mr. Davies' Sermons entitled

<sup>1</sup> Here Professor Stanley, following Lachmann and Tischendorf, omits *Jesus Christ*, with A, B, against the majority of Uncials and the *Vulgate*.

<sup>2</sup> *Tractatio Critica*, &c., p. 52. Halæ Magdeburgicæ, 1749.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Heath has been deservedly subjected to the operation of the ecclesiastical

law. There are at least some few besides who have trod in a similar path, but I name Professor Jowett, Mr. Maurice, and Mr. Davies as the most conspicuous offenders, and in point of style and spirit the most offensive.

<sup>4</sup> *Letter to the Rev. Rowland Williams*, D.D., p. 44.

*The Work of Christ*, those of them that avowedly relate to the doctrine of the Atonement, then, is that doctrine nothing but a popular corruption of Christianity; that doctrine which all these individuals have solemnly sworn before God to maintain unswervingly in common with all his true-hearted servants in every branch of the Christian Church throughout the world.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Stanley on a recent occasion is represented to have expressed his dissent from some of his friend Professor Jowett's opinions. Does he not owe it, I will not say to the Church of England, but to the whole Christian world, to repudiate his defence of Professor Jowett's hostility to the doctrine of the Atonement? Professor Stanley indeed would have the world believe that Professor Jowett maintains the Christian doctrine of Redemption. He does so if Socinianism is Christianity, but not otherwise. And of this Professor Stanley, if he is really a theological scholar, cannot be ignorant, that the modern Socinians or Unitarians are the only body who could acknowledge Professor Jowett's Dissertation on atonement and satisfaction to be compatible with the profession of Christianity.

Professor Stanley has avowed that the scarcely disguised Socinianism of Professor Jowett is "justified by the general language of the Church of England in the most solemn expressions of her faith,"<sup>2</sup> and substantially in agreement with the general teaching of the Church for 1200 years, and of the early Fathers, and founded on a serious, reverent, careful study of the words of Holy Scripture.

That Professor Jowett's view is sanctioned by the Dean of

<sup>1</sup> Mr. David Vaughan affirms that *ἱλασμος* does not necessarily mean a propitiation, and refers to the LXX. That it is used in a secondary sense for the effect of *propitiation* only confirms its proper use in such passages as 1 Joh. ii. 2. I greatly regret to find that Mr. Vaughan should have (though I trust but for a season) departed from the teaching of his highly gifted parent and others of his family. His *Seven Sermons on Sacrifice and Propitiation*, 1861, and the three that preceded them in 1859, are unhappy exemplifications of the power of prejudice to bring men to forget their scholarship itself when warped by error, and to overlook in Holy Scripture whatsoever makes against their prejudices.

Thus Mr. Vaughan, aware, with Maurice, that if the Scripture view of the Jewish law be admitted, there must be not a *figurative* but a *real* atonement, argues throughout as though the word which we render *atonement* in Leviticus was not properly a *ransom*. Our translators rendered the Hebrew word signifying a *ransom* by the word *atonement*,

there being in their day in our country none who did not understand by an atonement a ransom, a substitution of the life of the sacrifice for the life of the offerer. It is thus most untrue that no interpretation is put by the lawgiver upon the ordinances which he enjoins, as nevertheless Mr. Vaughan more than once asserts in his *Seven Sermons on Sacrifice and Propitiation*, pp. 13, 51. St. Paul founds his argument upon the blood of the victim being the ransom price. Compare Lev. xvii. 11 with Heb. ix. 11—22. Our Saviour's self-sacrifice, the only sacrifice allowed by Mr. Maurice, Mr. Vaughan, and others, was his *whole life*, and not the shedding of his precious blood upon the altar of the cross. It was not the work of a priest as such, but in a *figurative* sense.

<sup>2</sup> *Freedom and Labour*. Two Sermons preached before the University of Oxford, by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History and Canon of Christchurch. 2nd edit. Oxf. and Lond. Parker, 1860, p. 48.



Ely in his *Hulsean Lectures*, and that it was in any degree borne out by his predecessor's, Professor Hussey's, statements in his Ordination Sermon, Dec. 23, 1855, I have for one been unable to discover.<sup>1</sup>

Professor Stanley affirms that Professor Jowett has only ventured to except against "modern theories respecting the divine redemption."<sup>2</sup>

What then are the points which Professor Jowett thinks fit to specify as altogether misconceived of by that great multitude whom he would bring round to his own more enlightened opinions? What are the statements and positions which he declares to "have no foundation in Scripture?"<sup>3</sup> that God is satisfied by the sufferings of his Son in our stead; that the death of Christ is explained by the analogy of the ancient rite of sacrifice; that he is a victim laid upon the altar to appease the wrath of God; that the institutions and ceremonies of the Mosaical religion are applied to him. All these conceptions of the work of Christ have no foundation, says Professor Jowett, "in Scripture." It is a solemn spectacle in the eyes of God and of his elect angels and of all that multitude, who being guided by the eternal Spirit rise above the spirit of the times, that one who could have thus denounced the essence of Holy Scripture should have been so long suffered to retain his place in a Christian Church and University.

And what is the view which Professor Jowett would substitute for the doctrine of Holy Scripture and of the whole Christian Church? That "the only sacrifice, atonement, or satisfaction with which the Christian has to do, is a moral and spiritual one; not the pouring out of blood upon the earth, but the living sacrifice, 'to do thy will, O God,' in which the believer has part as well as his Lord; about the meaning of which there can be no more question in our day than there was in the first ages."<sup>4</sup>

And now will not the candid reader wonder whither controversial honesty and ingenuousness have fled, when he finds that Professor Stanley has cast his shield over this undisguised Socinianism as nothing more than "statements of the Greek Professor which have reference to modern theories respecting the

<sup>1</sup> See the references at the foot of page 49 in the notes to the Sermons entitled *Freedom and Labour*. Mr. Knox's *Remains* do, alas, put forth speculations upon this and other material points, of a nature most unsatisfactory to all who are content to receive instead of wresting the Scriptures. Butler's *Analogy* is altogether condemnatory of the views embraced by Professors Jowett and Stanley. Prof. Hey was never universally accepted as a theological guide, and was in some

very material respects disapproved by the late Bishop of Lincoln, the most learned theologian of his age. The reader will look in vain for theological guidance in the declamatory discourses of the late Mr. Robertson. Coleridge, in his *Literary Remains*, shewed himself diametrically opposed to Professor Jowett.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Jowett's *Essays*. 2nd edit. vol. ii. p. 547.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 547.

divine redemption?" Professor Stanley, and the party whose views he has thought fit to advocate, would confine our Lord's teaching as to points of morals and Christianity to the Sermon on the Mount. They are of all men inexcusable for their severance of Christian truthfulness and manly honesty from theological controversy. Professor Stanley could not but know that Professor Jowett's statement of the doctrine of sacrifice was a total rejection of the doctrine of the Church of England respecting our redemption. I will not say that Professor Stanley consciously rejects the doctrine of Holy Scripture. He may have deceived himself into the belief that the literal interpretation of Scripture is to be abandoned. But of this we cannot but rest assured, that if the Scriptures are to be literally interpreted, then must all Christians thankfully receive the great doctrine of the Atonement. What may have been the subtle refinements of Mr. Knox, the friend of Bishop Jebb, or what the late Mr. Robertson of Brighton may have declaimed upon the great truths of religion, will remain points of indifference to the great majority of Christian believers.

5. Coleridge himself, whatsoever he advanced in his earlier writings, has left the following explicit testimony against the modern theories of our Professors: "That Socinianism is not a religion but a theory, and that too a very pernicious or a very unsatisfactory theory. *Pernicious*, for it excludes all our deep and awful ideas of the perfect holiness of God, his justice and his mercy, and thereby makes the voice of conscience a delusion, as having no correspondent in the character of the legislator; regards God as merely a good-natured pleasure giver; so happiness be produced, indifferent as to the means. *Unsatisfactory*, for it promises forgiveness without any solution of the difficulty of the compatibility of this with the justice of God; in no way explains the fallen condition of man, nor offers any means for his regeneration. If you will be good, you will be happy, it says; that may be, but my will is weak, I sink in the struggle."<sup>1</sup>

"God," says Professor Jowett, "is represented as angry with us for what we never did."<sup>2</sup> "I am born a child of wrath," confesses Coleridge.<sup>3</sup> Coleridge would have stood aghast at the godless labours of the Professor and his associates. The truth should be adhered to by all who profess to contend for the truth. The modified views of inspiration contained in the *Confessions of an Enquiring Spirit* do not justify the views upon that subject which are to be found in the pages of Professor Jowett and of Mr. Wilson.

<sup>1</sup> Coleridge's *Literary Remains*, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> *Literary Remains*, p. 392.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 547.

## XIII.

1. Leaving the *Essays and Reviews*, I now come to the more personal topics included in Professor Stanley's defence of the writers, in the *Edinburgh Review*. I there find allusions to the Bishop of Exeter, to Dr. Jelf, to Bishop Thirlwall, and to Professor Mansel.

It is surprising that, after the publication of the Bishop of Exeter's Letter to Dr. Temple in the *Times* of the 4th March 1861, Dr. Stanley should have ventured upon adducing him in behalf of the *Essays and Reviews*, against the verdict of the other Prelates.

"The names of the Bishops were appended so carelessly, that one of them, that of 'H. Exeter,' is now known to have been added without his knowledge and against his wish."<sup>1</sup> His Lordship's own observation<sup>2</sup> on this allegation is his belief that on being applied to by another Bishop he expressed a strong disinclination to give his "*signature to a declaration conceived in terms which seemed to him much too feeble for the occasion.*" These were the circumstances under which his name was appended. His Lordship to this day retains that just and cordial aversion to the *Essays and Reviews* which he expressed several months ago.

2. My excellent friend Dr. Jelf<sup>3</sup> had given offence to Professor Stanley and the party of the contributors to the *Essays and Reviews*, by his fidelity to our common Christianity as a member of the Convocation. As Proctor for the Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, he, on the 26th of February, moved, "that the Standing Orders be suspended with a view to an Address being moved to the Upper House of Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, in reference to a certain volume entitled *Essays and Reviews.*" After this motion had been seconded by Dr. McCaul, and carried in the affirmative, Dr. Jelf addressed the House upon the character of the volume in question. Dr. Jelf then vouched for the fact on undoubted authority, that the enemies of the faith, the avowed enemies of Christ, the enemies

<sup>1</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* 1861, p. 469.

<sup>2</sup> Communicated in a letter dated Jan. 9th, 1862.

<sup>3</sup> The great effect of the condemnation of the *Essays and Reviews* is evident from the remarks of the *North British Review*, May 1861: "It is true that the British community at large is not pledged to bow to the 'decisions of Convocation; but these writers will learn, if they have not yet learned it, that, notwithstanding any extenuations or explanations—in spite of earnestly respectful letters breathing hatred and thinly disguised mortified egotism, the world outside holds them

bound to yield obedience, at least to shew respect towards the rightfully constituted authorities of their own Church. It must be so; not merely because *Church* obligations become *moral* obligations when freely taken up; but because calm-minded men *outside*, who are in no such manner bound, will listen with respect, and to a great extent, with accordance, to these same judgments—these protests—these unanimous utterances of a feeling which does but re-echo the general feeling and judgment of the Christian public." pp. 288, 289.

of his cross and of his Church, more particularly the Socinians and the Atheists, had already employed this very volume in order to forward their impious designs. "The Atheists at Leeds," he said, "are printing the *Essays and Reviews*, or parts of them, extracts from them, in a cheap form for general circulation, in order to recommend and propagate under the sanction of these hitherto respected names the miserable tenets, if tenets they can be called, of Atheism."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Jelf farther clearly established on that occasion the assertion he then made respecting the seven Essayists. "*Legal* responsibility they may or may not have escaped; but *moral* responsibility, and that of the most fearful kind, is fastened upon them by the unanimous verdict of the world."<sup>2</sup>

He then proceeded to point out specific evidence of the unsoundness of the volume, under the heads of errors touching Holy Scripture; inspiration denied; miracles denied; prophecy predictive denied; heretical parody of Holy Writ; descent of mankind from Adam, and its consequences denied; original sin denied; denial of the atonement by Christ's blood; ideology. It may be that here and there the authors may plead that they have been misunderstood, and that elsewhere one or another had expressed himself differently. But in no one instance can they deny that at least a most superfluous ambiguity of expression has laid them open to the charge of appearing to sanction opinions destructive of the very essentials of Christianity.

Dr. Jelf, under the 8th head of specific evidence, quoted the 31st Article according to the original edition of the Articles as sanctioned by authority of Parliament 13 Eliz. c. 12. The edition is that of Jugg and Cawood in 1562, and the reprint may be seen in the late Dr. Lamb's *History of the Thirty-nine Articles*. In that Article, instead of "propitiation" we have in the earlier edition the following paraphrastic rendering of that word, "the pacifying of God's displeasure." I will put it to Dr. Stanley whether he can dispute that the words in the earlier are other than equivalent to the term *propitiation* in the later edition?

But independently of this question, to which I shall return, Dr. Stanley did not scruple to charge upon this confessedly "estimable opponent of the present volume, an *interpolation* of the article."<sup>3</sup> Dr. Jelf was incapable of such an act, and his

<sup>1</sup> *Specific Evidence of Unsoundness in the Volume entitled "Essays and Reviews,"* by R. W. Jelf, D.D., Proctor for the Chapter of Christ Church, Oxford, and Principal of King's College, London. Oxf. and Lond. Parker; and Rivingtons, Waterloo-place, 1861, p. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 13.

<sup>3</sup> "An estimable opponent etc. has actually been obliged to interpolate into

his quotation of the article the very expression at issue between himself and his adversary. In place of the comprehensive Biblical expression adopted by all parties in the Church, he substitutes without acknowledgment the phrase found neither in Bible nor Prayer-book, 'pacifying of God's displeasure.'"—*Edinb. Rev.* April 1861, p. 493.

own letter, dated May 18, which appeared soon after in the *Guardian*, satisfied all honourable men. All men indeed are not honourable; and especially is this discoverable, most unhappily discoverable, in theological controversy.

I now return to a more than personal question. What truth, what reality is there in the impression which Dr. Stanley would leave upon the mind of the reader, by contrasting the word *propitiation* with the paraphrastic expression adopted in the Articles of 1562, '*pacifying of God's displeasure*'? Does he really believe that *ἱλασμος* is anything short of that whence results the pacifying of God's displeasure? is not this the meaning of propitiation? This comprehensive Biblical term 'propitiation' does it comprehend anything else or anything short of this? Is not the kindred verb rightly rendered *to make reconciliation for* in Heb. ii. 17; and is there any need of reconciliation where there is no displeasure? When St. John says of our blessed Lord that he is the propitiation for our sins, he affirms as a fact that doctrine, to the denial of which by Professor Jowett Dr. Stanley has set to his seal, that the beloved Son of God turned away the just displeasure of God from us sinners, and that by becoming himself a sacrifice, a ransom for our sins upon the altar of the cross. These two things are here inseparably joined together. This necessarily follows from the use of the verb in Heb. ii. 17, *Wherefore in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful, or compassionate, and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people.* The apostolic author of this Epistle refers us to the law of Moses as a shadow, a typical foreshewing of the new covenant, and especially applies that law to the illustration of our Lord's one propitiatory sacrifice made for our sins by the shedding of his precious blood upon the cross. There can be no doubt, from the tenor of the whole Epistle, that the Christian doctrine, briefly summed up by St. John in the assertion that the Son of God is the propitiation for our sins, included thus much; and implied that as the high priest on the great day of atonement made an atonement first for his own sins and for those of his own family, and then for the sins of the people, so did our Lord, as the great high priest after the order of Melchizedek, typified both by Melchizedek and by Aaron and his successors, make an atonement for us. The high priest was to make an atonement with the blood of the bullock (Levit. xvi. 12); with the blood to make a ransom for the souls of himself and for his house, and with the blood of the goat of the sin-offering for the people (vv. 15, 16). And we read in the 17th chapter, *The life of the flesh is in the blood: and I have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement (that is, a ransom) for your souls: for it is the blood that maketh an atonement for the soul.* (Levit. xvii. 11). So St. John teaches us with St. Paul, that the



true sacrifice of propitiation was not the sacrifice, or rather no sacrifice, which Professor Jowett would substitute for that of the Redeemer, but the sacrifice of the ransom price of blood offered upon the cross to pacify the just displeasure of God against a guilty world.

I am not ignorant that those against whose errors I write will impute to me, after the manner of this kind of controversialists, great ignorance, and that I am behind the age, in ascribing the Epistle to the Hebrews to the Apostle Paul. I am ready to bear such imputations. I am not of those who ignore all the learning and piety of the past, in order to set up myself and my own generation.

3. I cannot respect either the learning or the candour of Professor Jowett, when instead of facing the arguments of Grotius he does not scruple to depreciate and to declaim against his comprehensive and unanswerable work upon the satisfaction of our Lord. I cannot respect the candour and I cannot admit the learning of Professor Stanley, when he would claim the general teaching of the Greek Fathers in favour of the Socinian theory of his friend the Greek Professor. Had either he or Dr. Jowett deigned to peruse the Patristic testimonies to the doctrine of the Atonement adduced by Grotius, they would not have had the hardihood so to misrepresent the belief of former ages. But this and that German author will vouch for their statements. Those who implicitly follow *Neander* and *Hagenbach* must not expect to pass for learned or for accurate instructors with such as are not unwilling to examine for themselves the history of Christian doctrine. One and another of those writers who are now preferred to the sounder scholars and divines of earlier periods, do not hesitate to misrepresent the teaching of the Fathers upon these and other points. And upon such misrepresentations Professor Jowett has been content to rest, and has accordingly treated Christian antiquity with as little respect as he has shewn to the Christian Scriptures.

4. When Professor Jowett, following such unsafe guidance as that of Frederic Baur of Tübingen or of Hagenbach, would have it believed that from Origen downwards it was a prevailing though not quite universal belief, that the death of Christ was a satisfaction not to God but to the Devil;<sup>1</sup> I am reminded of the equally futile and audacious attempt of Dr. Priestly to palm upon the world the illusion that the primitive Christians were Humanitarians, and that Clemens Romanus was an Unitarian, like himself.

Clemens Romanus, Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Origen, Eusebius who clearly maintained the divine origin of sacrifices, Chrysostom, Augustine, and Athanasius, all taught the literal sacrifice upon the cross, the death of Christ and his blood-shedding as

<sup>1</sup> *On St. Paul's Epistles*, vol. ii. p. 572.

the ransom price for which we were spared and through which we obtain salvation. The strongest expressions of modern theologians do not exceed the words of Justin Martyr, that our Lord took on him the curses of all the world.<sup>1</sup> Origen, says Professor Jowett, believed with Irenæus in the right and power of the Devil over man.<sup>2</sup> This is but an attempt to lead readers astray upon the strength of the highly figurative language which is to be found in some passages of the Fathers. It is not a true account of their doctrine. The Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol<sup>3</sup> has given the substance of the teaching of Irenæus on this point, and a remarkable passage from the beginning of his fifth book against Heresies. I subjoin the following.

"He contended and conquered, for he was man contending for the fathers, and through his obedience paying the debt of disobedience: for he bound the strong man and loosed the prisoners, and gave salvation to his creature, destroying sin. For the Lord is most kind and merciful, and loving the human race. He made therefore to adhere, and united, as we have before said, man to God. For if man had not conquered the enemy of man, the enemy would not have been legitimately overcome. Again, unless God had given salvation, we should not have had it securely. And if man had not been joined to God, he could not have been made a partaker of immortality. For it behoved the Mediator between God and man, through his nearness to either party, to bring both into friendship and concord, and to present man to God, and to make God known to men."<sup>4</sup>

p. 248. "For as through the disobedience of one man, who first was formed from the rude earth, many were made sinners, and lost life, so it behoved that through the obedience of one man, who was first born of the Virgin Mary, many should be justified, and enjoy salvation."

"In the last times the Lord restored us to friendship through his incarnation, being made the mediator of God and men, propitiating indeed for us the Father, against whom we had sinned, and bringing comfort to our disobedience<sup>5</sup> through his obedience."<sup>6</sup>

Clemens Alexandrinus, in his treatise *Quis dives salvetur?* applies the parable of the Good Samaritan to our Redeemer shedding his blood for our sins. Our Lord is with him, both our great high-priest and the sacrifice for our sins.<sup>7</sup> Tertullian placed the whole fruit and benefit of Christianity upon the death of Christ.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "The Father of the universe willed that his Christ should receive on himself all the curses of all men of every race." *Dial. cum Tryphone*, p. 322. Ed. Paris, 1615.

<sup>2</sup> p. 573.

<sup>3</sup> *Aids to Faith*, pp. 342, 343.

<sup>4</sup> Irenæus, *ed Grabe*, l. 3, c. 20, pp.

247-8. Luctatus est, &c.

<sup>5</sup> *i. q.* us in disobedience.

<sup>6</sup> L. 1, c. 17, p. 425.

<sup>7</sup> *Stromata*, l. 7, lxxxv. 22.

<sup>8</sup> *Adv. Marcionem*, l. 3, c. 8. And see more in Bp. Kaye's *Tertullian*. 3rd edit. p. 316.

Than Origen nothing can be more express than his testimony in his 24th Homily on the Book of Numbers. "Donec sunt peccata, necesse est requiri hostias peccatis. Nam pone (verbi gratiâ) non fuisse peccatum: si non fuisset peccatum, non necesse fuerat Filium Dei agnum fieri, nec opus fuerat eum in carne positum jugulari: sed mansisset hoc quod in principio erat, Deus Verbum. Verum quoniam introiit peccatum in hunc mundum, peccati autem necessitas propitiationem requirit, et *propitiatio non fit nisi per hostiam*, necessarium fuit provideri hostiam pro peccato." "So long as there are sins, it is requisite that sacrifices should be found for sins. For suppose (for instance) that there had been no sin; if there had not been sin, it would not have been requisite that the Son of God should have become the Lamb, neither had there been any need for him made flesh, to have been slain. But he would have remained that which he was in the beginning, God the Word. But because sin entered into the world, but the necessity of sin required a propitiation, and a propitiation is made only by sacrifice, it was of necessity that a sacrifice should be provided for sin." Of such antiquity are those truths which Professor Stanley is pleased to depreciate as modern theories respecting the Christian doctrine of Redemption.

Let us hear Professor Jowett respecting St. Augustine, and then let us hear St. Augustine himself. "Like St. Paul," says the Professor, "Augustine contrasts the second Adam with the first, the man of righteousness with the man of sin. (*De Ver. Relig.*, chap. 26.) Lastly, he places the real nature of redemption in the manifestation of the God-man."

We read in the 5th verse of the 69th Psalm, *My sins are not hid from thee*. What is St. Augustine's comment on these words? "Delicta nulla Christus habuit. Fuit delictorum susceptor, sed non commissor."<sup>2</sup> "Christ had no sins. He was a surety for sins, not a doer of them." What but this very doctrine does Professor Stanley mean, when he denominates the popular doctrine on the sacrifice of our Lord, modern theories respecting the divine Redemption?

Professor Jowett continues his misrepresentations in his notice of Athanasius. "The view taken by Athanasius of the atoning work of Christ, has two characteristic features: first, it is based upon the doctrine of the Trinity; God only can reconcile man with God. Secondly, it rests on the idea of a debt which is paid, not to the devil, but to God."<sup>3</sup> The first feature here named is common to Irenæus and to Augustine. The latter delivers his opinion at some length on the 15th chapter of the 9th Book of the *De Civitate Dei*.<sup>4</sup> The Christian student will

<sup>1</sup> p. 573.

596, tom. ix.

<sup>2</sup> *Op.* tom. viii. Pars 1, p. 878. Lugd. 1561. And see tom. ix. p. 144, in *Ps.*

<sup>3</sup> p. 573.

<sup>4</sup> And also in the 13th Book *De Trinitate*, c. 10—16.

indeed enlarge his admiration of Athanasius, if he will carefully observe the clear and truly comprehensive treatment of the Mediation of Christ by this Father, as he will find it sketched in the very valuable work of my ever-lamented and venerated friend and former Diocesan, Bishop Kaye, in his *Account of the Four Orations of Athanasius against the Arians*, forming the latter part of his *Account of the Council of Nicæa in connexion with the Life of Athanasius*.<sup>1</sup>

The reader will also find much interesting information respecting the doctrine of the Fathers concerning the efficacy of our Saviour's sufferings in the third part of *A Preservative against Socinianism by Jonathan Edwards, D.D., Chaplain in Ordinary to the Queen, and Principal of Jesus College, Oxford*.<sup>2</sup>

5. But not only Professor Jowett, but Professor Stanley, both in his Sermons and Commentaries, most unhappily depreciates the great truth of Christianity, the doctrine of the Cross of Christ. We read in the first chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, that *the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God*. 1 Cor. 1. 18. I look into Dr. Stanley upon this Epistle, and find not a word upon this passage to which a Socinian could not cordially subscribe; "the humiliation of Christ as expressed in the shameful death of the crucifixion."<sup>3</sup> I look into Rosenmuller, and find a far more Christian exposition of the Apostle. I find him recognising something more than the fact of our Lord's death and its simplicity, and his humiliation. "The cross of Christ, *i. e.* the λόγος, the doctrine of the cross, namely, that Christ was crucified for our sins."<sup>4</sup> And that Rosenmuller here intended by the doctrine of the cross, that of our Lord's death as a propitiatory sacrifice, may be seen from his exposition of the last verse of the fifth chapter of the 2nd Epistle, where he interprets our Lord's being made sin for us by his being made a sacrifice for our sins.<sup>5</sup> Upon the very remarkable portion of that chapter of which the 21st verse forms the conclusion, I turn to Professor Stanley. I there find, both in the notes appended to the text and the Dissertation entitled *The Reconciliation of the World by Christ's death*,<sup>6</sup> nothing to which the Socinian could object. As far as the words of the Apostle are concerned there is no explanation of them; they are deliberately explained away. Would it have been deemed credible that a Professor in a Protestant University could have interpreted St. Paul's words *who reconciled us to himself through Christ*, for so he gives the words in verse 18, *who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ*, by a "great change in man's moral nature effected by his conversion

<sup>1</sup> Pub. by Rivingtons. Lond. 1853.

<sup>2</sup> Pub. at the Theatre, Oxford. 1704.

<sup>3</sup> Stanley *On the Epp. to the Corinthians*, p. 41. And see p. 49.

<sup>4</sup> Rosenmuller in *N. T.* vol. iv. p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 317.

<sup>6</sup> p. 444, and pp. 454—462.

to Christianity?"<sup>1</sup> Not only so; the orthodox and only admissible interpretation of this passage Professor Stanley has altogether withheld from his readers. It is thus that in his writings it would appear that, to some who speak great things of modern liberty and illumination, the cross as it was in the eyes and hearts of the Apostle is still foolishness, as it was to the self-satisfied wise men of Greece and Rome. Had Professor Stanley overlooked Bishop Pearson's exposure of the Socinian gloss? "In vain," says Pearson, "it is objected that the Scripture saith our Saviour reconciled men to God, but nowhere teacheth that he reconciled God to man; for in the language of the Scripture, to reconcile a man to God is, in our vulgar language, to reconcile God to man, that is, to cause him who before was angry and offended with him, to be gracious and propitious to him. As the princes of the Philistines spake of David, *Wherewith should he reconcile himself unto his master? should it not be with the heads of these men?* 1 Sam. xxix. 4. Wherewith shall he reconcile Saul, who is so highly offended with him? wherewith shall he render him gracious and favourable, but by betraying these men unto him? As our Saviour adviseth, *If thou bring thy gift before the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way, first be reconciled to thy brother,* Matt. v. 23, 24. That is, reconcile thy brother to thyself, whom thou hast injured; render him by thy submission favourable unto thee, who hath something against thee, and is offended with thee. As the Apostle adviseth the wife that *departeth from her husband to remain unmarried, or to be reconciled to her husband,* 1 Cor. vii. 11; in the like manner we are said to be reconciled unto God, when God is reconciled, appeased and become gracious and favourable unto us; and Christ is said to reconcile us unto God, when he hath moved and obtained of God to be reconciled unto us; when he hath appeased him and restored us unto his favour. *Thus when we were enemies we were reconciled unto God,* that is, notwithstanding he was offended with us for our sins, we were restored unto his favour *by the death of his Son.*"<sup>2</sup>

God has provided a way in which he can be holily reconciled to sinners. This way is declared in the last verse, *For he hath made him to be sin for us who knew no sin, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.* St. Chrysostom<sup>3</sup> is here very urgent for the unabated force of the literal rendering adopted in our version. Dr. Fulke, in his truly learned confutation of the Rhemish annotators, gives besides St. Chrysostom, SS. Augustine

<sup>1</sup> p. 444.

<sup>2</sup> Pearson *On the Creed*, vol. i. pp. 430, 431. 2nd edit. Oxf. 1843.

<sup>3</sup> He is quoted by Bishop Andrewes in his famous sermon on Justification.

See *Memorials of Bishop Andrewes and of his Works*, by the Rev. A. T. Russell, 1860; to be had either of the author or of Skeffington, London, pp. 76—83.



and Ambrose, with Primasius, Theodoret, Œcumenius, and Theophylact. St. Ambrose indeed is to be excepted, as his name is now understood to have been improperly assigned to the commentary on St. Paul's Epistles formerly quoted by his name. St. Augustine regarded *sin* in this passage as the same with a *sin-offering*, an interpretation justifiable by the usage of the Old Testament. For Dr. Stanley's comments we must seek an origin not in the Fathers of the Church but in the followers of Socinus.

6. In defending the authors of the *Essays and Reviews*, Professor Stanley has indeed anticipated his own cause. He has endeavoured to introduce the Rationalism, the waning Rationalism of Germany, into our own Church, in his volume on St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians. Herder had led the way where Rosenmuller himself, from his respect to the language of the Greek Testament, declined following him. Professor Stanley, tampering with the miracle on the Day of Pentecost, the gift of tongues, says, "The use of the word 'tongue' (γλῶσσα) need not necessarily imply a distinct language of a nation, which in the New Testament is usually expressed by διάλεκτος. We may therefore conclude that the word γλῶσσα was applied to this spiritual gift; partly from the fact that the word in classical Greek was sometimes applied to strange uncommon expressions, as in Aristotle;<sup>1</sup> partly from the circumstance that in the use of this gift the tongue was literally the organ employed, the mind as it were remaining passive, whilst the tongue gave utterance to words of which the speaker was hardly conscious." Professor Stanley then adduces 1 Cor. xiii. 1, and xiv. 9, as warranting the rendering of γλῶσσα by a peculiar style of speech, not indeed excluding "the introduction of foreign words or sentences into the utterances thus made."<sup>2</sup> Accordingly he in the next page descends to the following admission respecting the Day of Pentecost: "The stress laid on the variety of nations there assembled, and the expressions 'every man heard them *in his own language*,' 'how hear we every man in *our own language* wherein we were born,' 'we hear them speak in *our tongues*' (γλώσσαις), can hardly be explained on any other supposition than that the writer meant to describe that at least, to the hearers, the sounds spoken seemed to be those of distinct languages and real dialects. If this account is to be taken literally, it would imply that the *fervent expressions of thanksgiving which on that occasion, as on others, constituted the essential part of the gift*, were so far couched in foreign dialects as to be intelligible to the natives of the several countries." We are soon afterwards informed that "Hellenistic Greek, compounded as it was of Greek, Latin, and Hebrew, and instinct with that peculiar life and energy which we see it assume in the various styles of the New Testament,

<sup>1</sup> *Rhet.* iii. 3, 4. *Poet.* xxi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> On 1 Cor. p. 258.

especially in St. Paul and in the Apocalypse, *was almost in itself a speaking in divers kinds of tongues.*" And again: "All the various elements of Aramaic and Hellenic speech latent in the usual language of the time, would be quickened under the power of this gift into a new life, sometimes intelligible, *sometimes unintelligible to those who heard it*, but always expressive of the vitality and energy of the Spirit by which it was animated."<sup>1</sup>

Professor Stanley proceeds: "Still it must be observed, that even if foreign words were part of its exercise (of which there is no proof) there is no instance, and no probability of its having been ever used as a means of instructing foreign nations, or of superseding the necessity of learning foreign languages."<sup>2</sup>

Thus the gift of tongues, save to a limited extent, on the Day of Pentecost is resolved into a peculiar and ecstatic style of speaking; the idea of Herder, in his German Work on the *Gift of Tongues on the first Christian Passover*, published at Riga in 1794.<sup>3</sup> The truth is, that the signification given by Professor Stanley to *γλῶσσα* is without foundation.

7. That Christianity is but one religion of many, Professor Jowett has laboured, superficially indeed, to establish in his *Dissertation on Natural Religion*. From Professor Stanley's Sermons, the great aim of which appears to be to divest Christianity of all that is essential to it, we might imagine that this is also his opinion. Thus, in his Sermons on the *Unity of the Preaching of our Lord and of his Apostles*, I read to my no small surprise, that the Centurion was justified by his faith as a heathen. Far more in accordance with the doctrines of his own Church is the teaching of that truly invaluable advocate of the divine origin of Christianity, Bishop Sherlock,<sup>4</sup> in the 12th sermon of the first volume of his (for the most part) admirable Discourses. What a contrast do his pages present to the flimsy speculations of Professor Jowett and his fellows!

Dr. Stanley's *Canterbury Sermons*, the 6th of which contains the statement above alluded to, are indeed in direct contradiction to the essential character of the religion of which he is a minister. I do not hesitate to state this most distinctly, because the importance of such an error is too great to be passed over in silence, and demands the animadversion of all who are interested in upholding Christianity in our Church and nation.

<sup>1</sup> pp. 259, 260.

<sup>2</sup> p. 260.

<sup>3</sup> See Rosenmuller in *N. T.* tom. iii. p. 25, 1804.

<sup>4</sup> On page 100 in Dr. Stanley's *Sermons* I would refer the reader to the conclusion of Bishop Sherlock's sermon on *Are there few that be saved?* "If in honour to the mercy of God you open the doors of heaven to men of all professions in the world who live well according to the measure of light bestowed

on them; though your opinion has in it much more humanity and more common sense than that before mentioned, yet, by thus dealing to all indifferently graces and mercies which are not in your disposal, it is well if you do not hazard your own share. It is this opinion, if I am not deceived, that leads many into contempt of the gospel of Christ Jesus." See Bishop Sherlock's *Sermons*, vol. ii. p. 104 to the end of the 5th Discourse. Lond. 1755.

8. One whose memory will be increasingly revered for his comprehensive learning, his theological knowledge, and the truly Christ-like graces of meekness and humility, observed in a sermon in the Cathedral Church of Bristol, September 18, 1823: "The chief design of the gospel dispensation, when viewed with reference to the mode of our justification before God, is to lay down this fundamental truth, that neither by our obedience to the precepts of the moral law, nor by any efforts or exertions of our own, can we establish a claim to eternal life; but that our sole reliance must be placed on that which Christ has done or suffered for us. This is the principle upon which the whole scheme of salvation proposed in the New Testament proceeds."<sup>1</sup> This is, in technical language, the doctrine of Justification by Faith. What then does Professor Stanley say of this doctrine? "It is," he says in his 6th sermon, "one and the same with the great truth of the admission of the Gentiles."<sup>2</sup> In the next page we read that "Zacchæus he forgave for his upright restitution!"—"the woman who was a sinner he justified for her love—the publican he justified for his humility—the thief on the cross he justified for his earnest hope."

In each of these instances Professor Stanley sets himself against the only doctrine that can comfort the truly penitent; and contravenes the teaching of the Apostle of the Gentiles, that we are *justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus*. (Rom. iii. 24.)

With respect to Zacchæus, our Lord himself declares that not the upright restitution of Zacchæus was his salvation, but that it was his own gift to Zacchæus.<sup>3</sup> *And Jesus said unto him, This day is salvation come to this house, forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham. For the Son of Man is come to seek and to save that which was lost.*<sup>4</sup> And the ground on which our blessed Redeemer was his salvation is stated in the words, *forasmuch as he also is a son of Abraham*. I trust we shall not err, if we refer to the great Apostle of the Gentiles in order to learn what constitutes a man a son of Abraham. He informs us that it is Abraham's faith; he calls him *the father of them that believe*. (Rom. iv. 11.) And in his Epistle to the Galatians, *Know ye therefore that they which are of faith, the same are the children of Abraham. And the Scripture, foreseeing that God would justify the heathen through faith, preached before the gospel unto Abraham, saying, In thee shall all nations be blessed. So then they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham*. (Gal. iii. 9.) Our Lord declares that because Zacchæus had the same faith in him

<sup>1</sup> *Sermons and Addresses delivered on various occasions*, by John Kaye, D.D., late Bishop of Lincoln. Edited by his son. Lond. Rivingtons, 1856, pp. 156, 157. And see Bishop Kaye's *Charges*. Rivingtons, 1854, pp. 237—288.

<sup>2</sup> p. 83.

<sup>3</sup> So St. Augustine *De Verbis Apostoli*. Serm. 8, p. 373. Lugd. 1561, tom. x. "Utique si Salvator non intrasset, salus in illâ domo facta non esset."

<sup>4</sup> Luke xix. 9, 10.

which Abraham had, therefore he was blest with salvation in him. So we see the connection between the faith of Zacchæus and the concluding words of our Lord, *For the Son of man is come to seek and to save that which was lost*. But our Lord's words from first to last are stripped of all suitableness, and are totally disregarded by the opponents of the doctrine of the Church upon this most essential point, our justification by the free grace of God for the merits of the Redeemer.

Still more marvellous is Dr. Stanley's assertion, that the woman who was a sinner was justified for her love. Nothing but the most inveterate theological bias could blind any reader of that beautiful and touching record which forms the concluding portion of the seventh chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, to the circumstance, so palpable upon the face of the account, that her love was not the cause but the result of her justification. That holy love is of the very essence of true penitence and inseparable from a living faith, the only faith that justifies, no sincere Christian, no believer whose religion is a part of his very experience, can question. Dr. Stanley, I am aware, would build his conclusion upon the words, *Wherefore I say unto thee, her sins which are many are forgiven; for she loved much: but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little*. (Luke vii. 47.) But the words evidently imply that the greatness of her love arose from the circumstance that she had been a great sinner, and felt the assurance of great grace and mercy having been extended to her. She apprehended the great love of the Saviour as having surpassed in its vastness the greatness of her sins. Accordingly our Lord's parting words to her were not *Thy love*, but *Thy faith hath saved thee; go in peace*.<sup>1</sup>

Her great love arose from her apprehension of the exceeding love of her God and Saviour. Do I err in this account of the origin of that intensity which marked her love? Our blessed Saviour's words direct me to seek for it in this source: *And Jesus answering said unto him, Simon, I have somewhat to say unto thee. And he saith, Master, say on. There was a certain creditor which had two debtors: the one owed five hundred pence and the other fifty. And when they had nothing to pay, he frankly forgave them both. Tell me therefore which of them will love him most? Simon answered and said, I suppose that he to whom he forgave most. And he said unto him, Thou hast rightly judged*. (v. 40—43.)

Natalis Alexander, who from his devotion to the writings of St. Augustine could not be a consistent Romanist, falls into a happy inconsistency in his comment upon this passage. After

<sup>1</sup> In Luke vii. 47 *ἔτι* is used as in 1 Joh. iii. 14, where the love we have for the brethren is not the cause but the effect, and so the proof of a new and spiritual life. So *γὰρ* is used in 1 Cor. x.

5, and elsewhere. Ample references may be seen in Wolfii *Curæ Philol.* in *N. T.* tom. i. p. 638. And see Stockii *Clavis N. T.* p. 814. 5th edit. Leipzig, 1752.

setting forth the Romish he soon after falls into the Christian view of this history, and gives the words of St. Augustine which I will here give in English. "O thou Pharisee, therefore thou lovest little, because thou opineest that but little is forgiven thee, not because but little is forgiven thee, but because thou thinkest that is but little which is forgiven thee."<sup>1</sup> He might have quoted from the preceding page, *Quare autem dilexit multum, nisi quia debebat multa?* "But wherefore did she love much save but because she owed much?"

The penitent thief was, according to Dr. Stanley, justified for his earnest hope. That hope he could never have enjoyed had he not first been enlightened by the Holy Ghost to see in the Son of God his Saviour. Accordingly St. Augustine in various places refers to him as an instance of the power of faith. So in his Sermons on St. John's Gospel, having said that the cross itself was made a throne of judgment, he adds, "For the judge being placed in the midst, the one thief *who believed* is set free, the other who mocked is condemned."<sup>2</sup>

9. And now whence comes it that the only hope of a sinner is thus deliberately set aside by Professor Stanley in his character of a minister of the Gospel of Christ? It is because the negative theology, which he in common with the authors of the *Essays and Reviews* would set up in the place of the Gospel, is in reality nothing more than the speculations of the unenlightened reason, which, with the modern Socinian, will not permit any doctrinal teaching to be drawn from the New Testament. Dr. Stanley, as though he had made some great discovery, is very urgent upon this point. He explicitly affirms that instead of *doctrine* we should always understand *teaching*, in reference to the contents of the New Testament. Surely this is but an idle distinction, when we know that the teaching of the New Testament differs from the teaching of himself and of the Essayists in the circumstance of its being doctrinal and as such deeply mysterious. I do not find in Professor Stanley any denial of the doctrine of the Trinity; but for the literal redemption, the ransom on the cross by which we are redeemed from the curse of the law, I find a figurative redemption, the purely Socinian and far-fetched idea, "he held out the hope of liberty, of holiness, of goodness, and therefore of salvation."<sup>3</sup> In the Scriptures, spiritual freedom, the gift of the Holy Spirit, and that holiness of heart and life which follow upon that gift, are represented as emanating from the redemption on the cross, not as being redemption itself.<sup>4</sup> Thus we read in the first chapter of the first Epistle of St. Peter: *And if ye call on the*

<sup>1</sup> Nat. Alex. in *Evang.* p. 1008. S. August. tom. x. p. 602, ed. Lugd. 1561.

<sup>2</sup> *Tractat.* 81 in *Joh.* p. 314, tom. ix.

<sup>3</sup> Dr. Stanley's *Sermons*, p. 81.

<sup>4</sup> This is admirably illustrated at p. 74 of *Short Sermons on the Elements of Christian Faith*, by the Rev. Dr. S. A. Pears. Lond. Hatchard, 1861.



*Father, who without respect of persons judgeth according to every man's work, pass the time of your sojourning here in fear; forasmuch as ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, from your vain conversation received by tradition from your fathers, but with the precious blood of Christ, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot; who verily was foreordained before the foundation of the world, but was manifest in these last times for you. (1 Pet. 1. 17—20.)*

And again, in the 2nd chapter St. Peter, first in language that would be understood by those to whom he wrote, in no other sense than in that of an atonement by substitution, referred his converted brethren to the sacrifice upon the cross, then to the obligation to a new life of righteousness which that sacrifice brought with it, in other words, to the redemption from the vain conversation received by tradition from their fathers, of which he had spoken in the first chapter. It is only those who believe in the Son of God as the sacrifice by whom they are justified from the curse of the law, who can or do urge the obligation of mankind to holiness *on the ground that they are no longer their own, but his who bought them with his precious blood.* It was on the cross, by the shedding of his blood, that our Lord opened the way, through thus obtaining remission of sins, to the renewal of the sinner to holiness by the Holy Spirit.<sup>1</sup>

By passing over the doctrine of remission of sins as taught by our Lord and his Apostles, Dr. Stanley cuts away the ground upon which our redemption from the power of sin is based in Holy Scripture. The mere teacher and prophet, the mere regenerator and moral redeemer of mankind, with whom we meet in the pages of Dr. Stanley, is not he whom St. Peter proclaimed in the 2nd chapter of his first Epistle in the words to which I have already alluded: *Who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree, that we being dead to sins, should live unto righteousness: by whose stripes ye were healed.*

10. Earnestly did Dr. Arnold protest against that kind of teaching of which Dr. Stanley's *Sermons on the Unity of the Preaching of our Lord and of his Apostle*, is designedly an exemplar from beginning to end. Let Dr. Stanley condescend at least to learn of one to whom he will I trust admit, that to him to live was Christ and to die was gain. Let him turn to the 17th sermon in Dr. Arnold's for the most part truly admirable Discourses, published in 1830; I say for the most part, for whilst there may be here and there an opinion from which I might peradventure dissent, I have perused but few

<sup>1</sup> So Coleridge's *Literary Remains*. "I believe in the descent and sending of the Holy Spirit, by whose free grace, obtained for me by the merits of my Redeemer, I can alone be sanctified and re-

stored from my natural inheritance of sin and condemnation, be a child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom of heaven." (vol. i. p. 393.)

volumes of practical theology of any period, in which there are so many invaluable lessons scripturally handled, vividly illustrated, and persuasively enforced.<sup>1</sup>

11. I have thought it needless to bestow much time upon Mr. Wilson's Essay; but I cannot here pass over the identity of principle that pervades his Essay and Dr. Stanley's Sermons. They are both directed to one great end, the sinking of all those great differences which exist, and ever will exist, between the Christian Church in its various branches, and the sects which would usurp its authority and shelter themselves beneath its name. In his defence of the *Essays and Reviews* Professor Stanley says, "Mr. Wilson comes forward with a powerful though often rash defence of the principle of a national Church as opposed to that of sectarianism."<sup>2</sup>

Professor Stanley, whilst deprecating the rashness of his fellow-labourer, commends his *idea of a national Church, a Church recognising a merely nominal Christianity divested of the Christian mysteries, a Christianity without a Bible and without a Saviour*; for Mr. Wilson's ideology leaves the Bible open to the jugglery of rationalism, by which it is made to say whatsoever the reader would have to be found in it, and to repudiate whatsoever his own prejudices repudiate.

In a similar spirit Dr. Stanley addresses his hearers in the violated cathedral of Cranmer and Howley. Their ears would have been shocked with such words as these: "Think of those differences in the gravest form in which you like to put them,—think of the Church, the party, the sect, the opinions against which you feel most keenly, and then remember that in Christ Jesus they avail nothing at all."<sup>3</sup> Not so that great Apostle, in whose Epistles Dr. Stanley can find nothing that is doctrine properly so called; neither original sin, nor the atonement, nor justification by faith, nor divine predestination; nothing but moral instruction and the opening of the Church to the Gentiles.<sup>4</sup> The great Apostle, as he lived for the Church which is the body of Christ, condemned the spirit of sectarianism, denounced divisions, sects, and parties, and exhorted with all earnestness to the preservation of that unity without which there cannot be that effective cooperation which is requisite to the propagation of the gospel. The futility of this spurious liberality has been admirably exposed in the Latin sermon of the late Bishop of Lincoln before Convocation at St. Paul's on January 15th, 1819. That able dissertation is an application of the Apostle's words to the circumstances of our own day: *Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but*

<sup>1</sup> What can be found more strikingly beautiful than the 22nd and 23rd sermons?

<sup>2</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* 1861, April, p. 479.

<sup>3</sup> *Sermons*, p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> See the 10th sermon.

that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgment. (1 Cor. 1. 10.)

If we believe that the Church of which we are members is a legitimate branch of Christ's Catholic and Apostolic Church, the branch appointed to nourish up our fellow-countrymen to eternal life as their spiritual mother, then are we bound to remind them, that whilst the law indeed permits them to separate from that Church, they are nevertheless "morally responsible for the exercise of their judgment." And as their spiritual pastors it becomes our duty to exhort them "seriously to consider whether, on account of differences not involving any fundamental article of belief, they can be justified in separating themselves from a Church which, in its origin, its doctrines, its ceremonies, its polity, prefers so many titles to the character of Apostolic."<sup>1</sup>

But it may be alleged that some there are whose dissent is based upon fundamental differences; such is the dissent of the Arian, the Unitarian, the Swedenborgian. Here indeed we have to deal with a worse sin than schism. We must fearlessly maintain that these differences, and all of the like nature, are opposed not only to the *body* but to the *head*, not only to the *Church* but to its *one invisible and spiritual head our Lord Jesus Christ*. So untrue, so essentially unchristian is the assertion, that in Christ Jesus all considerations of Church and of religious belief "avail nothing at all." Such theological indifference is destructive of all faith, all worship. A Church upon such principles is a fiction. The men who would congregate upon such principles may constitute a faction, an infidel faction, but never a Church.

It is impossible to estimate the full amount of the evil of divisions, sects, and the spirit of partisanship. I add *the spirit of partisanship*, because that spirit invades the Church itself and separates those who should be brethren. It magnifies differences; it invents artificial badges and distinctions; it insists upon observances or rules unessential to doctrinal purity on the one hand, and to ecclesiastical order on the other. The spirit of partisanship is the spirit of sectarianism, and has introduced into the Church the extremes of ceremonial and of anti ceremonial dissent. And the secret design on either side is to remodel and to change the face and worship of the Church. Such developements of party zeal are essentially sinful, as they tend to unsettle and disturb the most important and influential branch of the Christian Church upon the face of the earth, and that at a time when, of all others, unity is requisite to give weight and to ensure success to our efforts as a national Church, to meet the national want of an extension of the means of religious education and Christian worship; our want as a nation of

<sup>1</sup> Bp. Kaye's *Sermons*, p. 189.

a more adequate number of churches and of a better endowed ministry.

Those who have been called to spend some portion of their days in our remote possessions, especially in our Indian empire, have long since observed that amongst the impediments to the success of Christianity abroad, is the existence of so many forms of Christianity, of the divisions that exist amongst missionaries themselves, all calling themselves Christian, all claiming to represent the Church and ministry of the Apostles.

Not a few, I believe, ruinously deceive their own souls and those of multitudes around them by this trite aphorism of false liberality, that at the last it will not be enquired of what sect, church, or party we were. Sects, alas, cannot prosper to the content of their advocates, without a most unhallowed and unchristian hostility to the national Church. Is there no sin in that spurious zeal which has originated the outdoor preaching of Methodists, Baptists, and others in our rural parishes, where the very parties who have instituted these practices have professed personal respect for the clergy into whose parishes they have thrust themselves, or where, if they have not professed such respect themselves, the more moderate and the most respected amongst their own adherents have shewn such respect? Is there no sin in the theatrical declamation against church-rates, and the personal ridicule thrown upon the parochial clergyman of a contiguous parish, confined at the time to his house by illness, this personal ridicule uttered from the pulpit of one of the most considerable congregations in a not inconsiderable county?<sup>1</sup> Alas, I have lived to see a declension of all seemliness and religious decency in the opposition—the now growing<sup>\*</sup> opposition—of dissent to that Church which yet some of the more intelligent and really pious amongst dissenters admit to be the bulwark of religion as well without as within her pale. Professor Stanley would surely have delivered himself more consistently with his office as a minister of a truly Apostolic Church, had he borne in mind St. Augustine's distinction between the deceivers and the deceived, the originators and ringleaders of division and error, and those who without wilfulness swell the number of their followers. Such a distinction attests the reality and the evil of the sin of schism and of the spirit of party.

But, on the other hand, Dr. Stanley would brand with the

<sup>1</sup> I allude to facts well known in my own neighbourhood. Others equally disgusting have occurred in other counties, and probably are still occurring. In this instance the evening service on the Lord's-day in the parish of Melbourn was, at the Independent meeting-house, profanely enlivened with jest upon jest, and in the place of a sermon was a sort of spiritual comedy. Phineas and Hophni

were exhibited as representatives of the Church of England, whilst Samuel was on the other hand described as a minister under the *voluntary principle*! The congregation were repeatedly surprised into roars of laughter. So much for the sanctity of the Sabbath amongst the dissenters in this neighbourhood. But in truth dissent as a system is an encouragement to irreverence.

name of party those who dissent from his assertions that there are no essential differences amongst such as bear the Christian name, and who maintain that not only teaching but doctrinal teaching is to be found in the New Testament teaching far exceeding the limits of the Sermon on the Mount, which, according to Dr. Stanley, contains the whole system of salvation. Admirably is it remarked by the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, in his able *Essay on the Death of Christ*, that the Apostles "did not merely repeat in each new place the pure morality of Jesus as he uttered it in the Sermon on the Mount: of such lessons we have no record. They took in their hands as the strongest weapon the fact that a certain Jew crucified afar off in Jerusalem was the Son of God, who had died to save men from their sins; and they offered to all alike an interest, through faith, in the resurrection from the dead of this outcast of his own people. No wonder that Jews and Greeks, judging in their worldly way, thought this strain of preaching came of folly or madness, and turned from what they thought unmeaning jargon."<sup>1</sup>

## XIV.

Since the greater part of the preceding observations were penned, *Replies to Essays and Reviews* came forth from the hands of my friends Mr. Rose, Drs. Wordsworth and Goulburn, and their fellow-labourers. I must now return to the case of Mr. Pattison. I ought not to pass over this opportunity of saying a word in behalf of those who, with myself, felt that Mr. Pattison had also been guilty, with his brother Essayists, of lifting up his weapons against that holy cause which he was bound to defend. Mr. Haddan, however, acquits him of the censure passed upon him in the Lower House of Convocation. It appears passing strange that such a *Reply* should have been suffered to see the light in company with the rest. But as such a mistake has been committed, I feel it my duty to resume my observations upon Mr. Pattison's Essay.

I read to my astonishment over one and another page of Mr. Haddan's reply, "*the sixth Essay mainly a literary one;*" "*does not intentionally further scepticism;*" "*ought not to have been involved in the same censure with the other Essays.*"

What fault then has Mr. Haddan to find with his friend Mr. Pattison? "His Essay," he complains, "*swamps in particular such men as Butler too indiscriminately in the general condemnation.*"<sup>2</sup> So then Mr. Haddan is compelled to admit the unqualified presumption of his friend; "*he swamps in particular such men as Butler!*" I can scarcely deem that man

<sup>1</sup> *Aids to Faith*, p. 332. Lond. Murray, 1861.

<sup>2</sup> *Replies*, &c., p. 385.



a Christian, who can remain insensible to the obligations under which the author of the *Analogy* has laid the world. I have known instances in my own very limited experience, of the ineffably blessed results that have followed from his pages, and I have known others who have witnessed the same happy effects in others.

It was the delight of Dr. Chalmers to be known as the scholar and to be employed as the commentator of Butler. And whilst I for my own part am amongst those who regret rather than admire the diffuseness of Dr. Chalmers' style and its want of simplicity, I know of no author in the present century to whom the devout and thoughtful theologian owes a greater debt of gratitude. Mr. Haddan also admits that Mr. Pattison's Essay overlooks the decisive evidence to the real ability of the school afforded by its *undeniable success*.<sup>1</sup> This is a very moderate view of Mr. Pattison's unfairness to the divines of the last two hundred years.

For my own part I cannot, upon any interpretation that may be assigned to Mr. Pattison's words, admit their truth. If the first of the two passages excepted to by the Lower House of Convocation is to be understood of the hypothesis of the divines whom Mr. Pattison has so unjustly misrepresented upon Mr. Haddan's own admission, this very passage is but another misrepresentation of them. The whole passage does not appear to cohere with the context.

"If," says Mr. Pattison, "reason be liable to an influence which warps it, then there is required some force which shall keep this influence under, and reason alone is no longer the all-sufficient judge of truth. In this way we should be forced back to the old orthodox doctrine of the chronic impotence of reason, superinduced upon it by the Fall; a doctrine which the reigning orthodoxy had tacitly renounced." Does any reader after perusing the above, imagine for a moment that Mr. Pattison has any belief in the Fall, or in any deteriorating effects resulting to our race in consequence of it?

He condemns Calvin for "the hardy and irrational assertion" — "that the Word of God shone sufficiently by its own light;" a hardy assertion truly, that the Word of God does not need the power of man to make itself felt and understood! I have read in Dr. Arnold's Sermons of that *great* man Calvin. I have read something very similar in the writings of Hooker,<sup>2</sup> and I conclude that so long as there shall be any honest appreciation of true greatness unfettered by party bias, Calvin's greatness

<sup>1</sup> *Replies*, p. 385.

<sup>2</sup> "Two things of principal moment there are which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the world: the one his exceeding pains in composing *The Institutes of Christian Religion*; the

other his no less industrious travails for *Exposition of Holy Scripture according unto the same Institutes*." Preface to the *Eccles. Polity*, vol. i. § 8, p. 98. Oxf. Univ. Press, 1845.

will survive. I have known his *Institutes* garbled so as to feed the misconceptions of superficial thinkers and second-hand readers, but I never found any who had patiently investigated them harbouring that uncandid spirit which Mr. Pattison has evinced.

Probably Mr. Pattison, despising that of which he is content to remain ignorant, and at the same time to hold up to contempt, has never given himself the trouble of looking into Calvin's *Institutiones Christianæ Religionis*. If he will condescend to what is in his case a duty, let him turn to the eighth chapter of the first book; he will there find ample evidences adduced to justify faith in the Scriptures. The whole design of the eighth chapter is to shew that there exists abundance of reasonable proofs of the credibility of Holy Scriptures. Mr. Pattison's attack upon Calvin is (alas for himself!) an absolute misstatement. Calvin had affirmed that God himself ministered by his own teaching a divine persuasion of the truth of his Word to the hearts of his children, herein following the prophets and the Son of God, and pointing to the very words of Isaiah in the 13th verse of the 54th chapter,<sup>1</sup> *And all thy children shall be taught of the Lord*. This is the doctrine which Mr. Pattison in reality assails, a doctrine that only an infidel would dream of rejecting.

Another statement, not altogether in accordance with truth, is, that the Evangelical and Methodist generation of teachers "scornfully rejected the idea of religious education." The Countess of Huntingdon, who was the patron of George Whitfield, a man of as disinterested motives as ever adorned the earth, founded a college for the education of the ministers who were designed for her chapels. And it should not be altogether forgotten, that had the bishops of the last century consented to consecrate those chapels they would now have been so many helps to the Episcopal Church.

The purely negative spirit of Mr. Pattison is of itself a sufficient proof that his whole design in writing this sixth Essay was, indirectly, but the more effectually to further scepticism. He has arraigned all the advocates of Christianity whom he has enumerated, only to depreciate them. Mr. Haddan's pages, like those of my friend Mr. Candy, furnish proof upon proof. Who that had any regard for Christianity, any belief in the only Son as his Redeemer, would have written as the advocate of avowed Deists, and have laboured to impress upon his readers that it was extremely difficult to discover upon what the faith of his Christian countrymen rested? "Whoever would take the religious literature of the present day as a whole, and endeavour to make out clearly on what basis Revelation is supposed by it to rest," &c., &c. I refer to the conclusion of his Essay.

<sup>1</sup> "Promittit Iesaias omnes renovatæ stit. lib. i. c. 7, § 5, p. 21. Lond. 1576. ecclesiæ filios Dei fore discipulos." In-

The first half of the passage is enough to satisfy, or rather to offend, every not merely Christian but candid and honest reader.

Mr. Pattison is, however, very impartial in dealing out his criminations. He is resolved that the sympathies of no class of theologians, of none who are entitled to the name of Christian, shall go with him. "Church authority," he says, "was essayed by the Laudian divines, but was soon found untenable, for on that footing it was found impossible to justify the Reformation and the breach with Rome."<sup>1</sup> This is simply an untruth from first to last. Has Mr. Pattison never read Jeremy Taylor's beautiful summary of the *Evidences* in his *Ductor Dubitantium*? Has he never looked into Cosin's *Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture*? Where is Mr. Pattison's proof that the Laudian divines resolved the evidences of Christianity into Church authority? He can produce no proof; it is like many other assertions, put forth simply to produce an effect, and that a malevolent effect in regard of the interests of Christianity. When I find the evidences of our holy religion, the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ who shall come to judge the living and the dead, thus artfully, thus deceitfully, thus treacherously dealt with, my moral sense is assaulted, and can relieve itself only in the strongest terms.

Mr. Haddan himself in some degree unites with his friend Mr. Pattison in his depreciation of what he is pleased to term "evangelicalism."<sup>2</sup> Now it is unhappily the fact that with some the teaching of the Liturgy is the sole teaching of our Church, the Articles and Homilies being set aside as the formulæ of past 'thinkings,' to borrow the language of Mr. Pattison. The late Metropolitan of India distinguished himself at Oxford by a prize-essay on *Common Sense*, and afterwards by two volumes of Lectures (not wanting in common sense) upon the Evidences of Christianity. And yet both Mr. Pattison and Mr. Haddan can only except him by some unmeaning subtlety, utterly at variance with common sense, from the designation, the ill-fated designation of *Evangelicalism*.

My friend Mr. Birks, who will peradventure fall under the same stigma, has edited both Paley's *Evidences* and *Horæ Paulinæ*. Dr. Chalmers, who is commonly classed with those who teach evangelicalism, has also left the world, amongst his most elaborate labours, two volumes on the Evidences of Christianity both external and internal. I regret to meet with the term *evangelicalism*. I regret everything that tends to perpetuate a feeling of alienation amongst those who can unite, and who are not unwilling to unite, in upholding the essential truths of Christianity, together with the interests of that pure and reformed part of Christ's Church established in these dominions.

I cannot but think the following greatly exaggerated: "To

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 328.

<sup>2</sup> *Replies, &c.*, p. 358.

put the apologists or the divines of the last or any preceding generation into the hands of assailants of the truth now, or into those of persons who really desire to believe, is no doubt a mockery. Their mode of reasoning, their very principles, their range of knowledge, however grounded upon substantial truth, are out of date. The Paleys or the Lardners supply no answers to the Strausses or the Hennells."<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, had some of our predecessors been held in greater respect, had Sherlock, more especially, and Butler been more studied, we should have, peradventure, been without our Stanleys and our Jowetts, men who are content to cast aside all the doctrines of Christianity and to retain it simply as a system of morals; men who would turn our churches into Pantheons in honour of reason, science, and understanding. We have already come to this, that the defamer of Cranmer, Lord Macaulay, and the sneering historian who has informed the world that the Reformation was favoured by women because it was the cause of independence, Hallam, have been quasi-canonized in Christ Church Cathedral, with a host of other names not perhaps unsuited to a Pantheon, but strangely out of place, even in the way of allusion, in the pulpit of a Christian Church. The individual who as a Professor of Ecclesiastical History can assure his readers that there was no such thing as orthodoxy before Athanasius arose,<sup>2</sup> can commemorate in the house of God the following motley group of saintly personages, Humboldt, Ritter, William Grimm, Arndt, Tocqueville, Brunel, Stephenson, Prescott, Washington Irving, Hallam, Lord Macaulay, Sir James Stephen, De Quincey, Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Col. Leake. We are informed by our Christian orator that (unhappily for him) Sir William Napier "died since *this sermon* was preached."<sup>3</sup>

To return whence we set out. Nay, the thought just struck me, that in some twenty years' time we are to have such men as Professors Stanley and Jowett, and the other authors of the notorious *Essays*, on the Episcopal bench. "Judging by the usual course of events," says the same Christian orator in his eulogium of the Essayists,<sup>4</sup> "it is probable that before twenty years are passed, they will be seated in the high places of the Church, now occupied by those," &c. What a strange transformation will it be to see Hallam and Macaulay, Stephenson and Brunel, Humboldt and Ritter, De Quincey and Sir James Stephen, Col. Leake and Sir Wm. Napier illuminating our cathedrals with that various-coloured light which has hitherto been collected in the pictured forms of prophets, martyrs, and apostles. I cannot see how, when the toleration for which Professor Stanley

<sup>1</sup> *Replies*, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> See his *History of the Eastern Church*, and the uncandid account of St. Athanasius in that volume.

<sup>3</sup> *Freedom and Labour*. Two Sermons

preached before the University of Oxford, by Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., &c. 2nd edit. Oxf. and Lond. 1860, note (m) p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* April 1861, p. 498.

pleads shall be established, and the truth of the Resurrection left an open question, it can consist with these enlarged views of religious liberty and philosophical religion to retain any paintings or memorials of any kind of rising from the dead. I do not say that Professor Stanley doubts the Resurrection of our Lord, but he authorizes me to conclude that, according to his views, it is most intolerant to stand upon the necessity of this belief as an article of religion. We have already arrived thus far. The *Edinburgh Review* has thus far given its sanction to a view of Christianity which every Christian heart disdains to accept for a moment as at once most insulting to his Creator and most fatally delusive as regards our fellow-creatures. "And in the culminating instance of the Resurrection of Christ, the whole subsequent history of the rise of the religion,—the whole of that cheerful, hopeful, victorious aspect, which so characterizes both its actual triumph over the world, and its leading turn of mind and doctrine,—appear to us living testimonies both to the historic truth and to the endless moral significance of that greatest of all the events which profane or sacred annals record. But our own assurance of this and of like occurrences far less important, ought not to blind us to the fact that the very events and wonders which to us are helps, to others are stumbling-blocks." Here let us pause a moment: Dr. Stanley has for once carried us to the Scriptures; *And whosoever shall fall on this stone shall be broken: but on whosoever it shall fall, it will grind him to powder.* (Matt. xxi. 44.) Such, the Son of God assures us, is their ruin, who stumble at his Resurrection. But in the face of these words, and of others like them in both the Old and New Testament, Dr. Stanley does not fail to hold out a false, a vain and unhallowed hope to all such unbelievers, likening their incredulity to that of the Apostle Thomas. It is with grief, deep and sincere grief, that I read his words, as he likens, I say, the deniers of his Lord's Resurrection to the Apostle Thomas. It was the hopelessness of despair, a sinful despair that yet was engendered of love, which led the Apostle into doubt. It is not so with those who now "prefer to lean on other and, as they think, more secure foundations, than the miracles of the Son of God and his own resurrection from the dead on the third day." Have our modern unbelievers such a meritorious love of truth as to excuse them from all belief in the Son of God? Is it so, that that great truth has lost its power to bring home to the hearts of the sincere the hope of immortality? It is a libel upon him who is the Truth, the uncreated life and light of angels and of men.

Whence all the transcendent folly of those schools of German philosophy, to compete with which Mr. Haddan considers all our predecessors in the department of the Evidences, inadequate? They loathe angels' food, the mysteries of salvation; they must



force their way behind the veil that God has drawn around that everlasting throne, whence alone proceeds light to satisfy the understanding and to cleanse the heart. I am all but unacquainted with the pages of Mr. Rogers. - I love not this kind of reading; I have lived in the quiet of the country, and have delighted in meditations nearer heaven. I know my heavenly Father's mercies too well by long experience of them, to believe in the reality of those multitudinous difficulties which men calling themselves Christians now assert to gather round the sincere enquirer after God. I was once myself for a season in doubt and darkness. I conferred with no fellow-creature. I wept, and thought, and looked again at the well-known landmarks, and committed myself to God in prayer, and the light again shone around and within me. Christianity is a religion founded upon facts; it is an historical religion; and every Jew in every land is a witness, an unwilling witness, to its truth. Tenderness to those who refuse such a faith is cruelty to our fellow-creatures, and a dishonour to the light and to the giver of it.

I hold in the greatest regard, I regard with the greatest affection my honoured friend, Professor Mansel; I sympathise with him under the inhuman attacks of Professor Stanley and of Professor Goldwin Smith. I believe his Christian sincerity and consistency, his honest zeal for the Almighty, now blasphemed and held up to contempt in a Christian country in a manner utterly inconsistent with the security of the national character, have drawn down upon him the obloquy of his opponents. But I cannot deem his metaphysical system of that service in this department of controversy which it naturally appears to himself; I fear it will not meet the exigencies of the times.<sup>1</sup> Sir William Hamilton has not satisfied all deep thinkers of the truth of his philosophy. The contradictions to which it leads, and which Professor Mansel has so fully exposed, confirm my distrust of it as a weapon of disputation. I find that my reason does not confine my mind to any such contradictory positions as those to which the philosophy of the Infinite and the Absolute appears to lead. I have never conceived of the Almighty as the Absolute and the Infinite of any such system. I cannot gather such a system either from reason or Scripture. But supposing for a moment the reality of the system, it still leaves the truth of Christianity a question.

That question must be decided by evidence. The external

<sup>1</sup> It may doubtless suffice to refute those who would measure the Almighty by the philosophical system which Professor Mansel upholds, but the refutation of this system does not invalidate the claims of reason to lead us to the belief in an infinite being. Prof. Mansel himself is far from maintaining that what he

calls the philosophical conception of the Absolute, is the true conception of God. It is, however, a question whether the conception with which he has dealt is the only one that philosophy could form. Has it been universally accepted by philosophy?

evidence must be taken into the account: for it is a part of the religion itself. The internal evidence I myself believe to be as weighty as the external. But fully to appreciate it, it must be felt; and this it cannot wholly be, unless the heart itself is seeking earnestly the supply of its wants, and is already enlightened in some measure with the knowledge of itself. Under these circumstances, therefore, I cannot but feel that Mr. Haddan has done injustice to his subject and to the divines of whom he treats, when he admits that to put into the hands of assailants of the truth now, or into those of persons who really desire to believe, the apologists and divines of the last or any preceding generation, is a mockery.<sup>1</sup>

2. I come now to the second passage in the sixth Essay which the Lower House of Convocation censured, and which Mr. Haddan attempts to justify.

"In the present day, when a godless *orthodoxy* threatens, us *in the fifteenth century*, to extinguish religious thought altogether, and *nothing is allowed in the Church of England* but the formulæ of past thinkings, which have long lost all sense of any kind, it may seem out of season to be bringing forward a misapplication of common sense in a bygone age."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Haddan would interpret these words as written against that '*evangelicalism*' which he afterwards identifies with *fanaticism*. But Mr. Pattison is fully aware that the term *orthodoxy* is commonly opposed to '*evangelicalism*.' Had this latter been in his thoughts he would not have denominated it a godless orthodoxy.

From Professor Stanley's very superficial volume *On the Eastern Church*, I gather that the orthodoxy to which he and his friends are opposed, is the orthodoxy of the Catholic Church in regard of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Of this orthodoxy he there represents Athanasius as the founder, giving his readers to understand that in the three first centuries the Church had no uniform belief upon that doctrine.

I do not pretend to explain Mr. Pattison's allusion to the *fifteenth century*.

Mr. Pattison is fully aware that neither the high nor the low nor any other section of the Church (to have recourse for once to those unhappy and often misapplied designations) have it in their power to silence one the other. When he writes, "*nothing is allowed in the Church of England*," it is plain that he has his eye upon no section of the Church, but that his quarrel is with the Church herself, with her Creeds, her Liturgy, her Articles, and her Homilies; all which we may look to see scattered to the winds in the day when Dr. Stanley's prophecy shall be verified, and Mr. Pattison, Professor Jowett, Mr. Wilson, and the other Essayists be seen sitting together on the episcopal bench.

<sup>1</sup> *Replies*, p. 359.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 297.

Whilst Mr. Haddan censures the Lower House of Convocation for their alleged injustice to Mr. Pattison, he can only for himself guess first one and then another meaning by which to save his friend from being understood in the only natural sense which his language will bear. He does not profess even to justify any one sense that can be put upon his words. "Godless" he admits is too strong an epithet. For "the Church of England" he is obliged to substitute "many narrow views to which religious people generally cling."<sup>1</sup>

Unable himself to affix with any certainty an innocent meaning to Mr. Pattison's language, he should surely have abstained from condemning others who took Mr. Pattison at his word.

## XV.

1. After most of the preceding pages had been written, I was requested by a very able friend, at the head of one of our most important public schools, to notice a passage which has indeed been elsewhere exposed and justly condemned. Some of my readers will therefore be already familiar with it, and will doubtless anticipate it before it meets their eyes. "We use the Bible, some consciously, some unconsciously—not to override, but to evoke the voice of conscience. When conscience and the Bible appear to differ, the pious Christian immediately concludes that he has not really understood the Bible."<sup>2</sup> "The Bible in fact is hindered by its form from exercising a *despotism over the human spirit*; if it could do that, it would become an *outer law* at once: but its form is so admirably adapted to our need, that it wins from us all the reverence of a supreme authority, and yet imposes on us *no yoke of subjection*. This it does by virtue of the principle of private judgment, which puts conscience between us and the Bible, making conscience the supreme interpreter, whom it may be a duty to enlighten, but whom it can never be a duty to disobey."<sup>3</sup> Now, if the conscience may stand in need of illumination from the Scriptures, how can it be safely erected into an infallible judge of Holy Scripture?<sup>4</sup>

The whole passage reads as though the writer of it felt himself restrained from giving utterance to all that was in his mind. Hence its ambiguousness, and hence its being placed before our eyes under the veil of metaphor. It appears that only Truth can afford to discover herself to the world in her own native beauty.

2. But, says Professor Stanley, Dr. Temple has only given the words of the great author of the *Analogy* in another form. "If in Revelation there be found any passages the seeming

<sup>1</sup> *Replies*, p. 355.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> See also the admirable remarks of Mr. Birks on this subject, *The Bible and Modern Thought*, pp. 344—352.

meaning of which is contrary to natural religion, we may most certainly conclude such seeming meaning not to be the real one."

Are then conscience and natural religion the same? Are they coextensive in regard of their jurisdiction? Are they in short synonymous? This must be admitted if we would identify the respective statements of Dr. Temple and Bishop Butler. Accordingly, the very context of Bishop Butler shews that this great author did not identify natural religion either with the conscience or with the moral sense. After the words alleged by Dr. Stanley as being in substance one with those of Butler, to use his own words, *taken from them*,<sup>1</sup> we read in the *Analogy*, "But it is not any degree of a presumption against an interpretation of Scripture, that such interpretation contains a doctrine which the light of nature cannot discover, or a precept which the law of nature does not oblige to."<sup>2</sup>

Bishop Butler's very distinction in this instance, his reference neither to the conscience nor to the moral sense, which is here probably regarded by Dr. Temple as identical with it, is a safeguard against Dr. Temple's doctrine, which would judge of the actions and government of God by the standard of human morality, a standard itself varying in the minds of men according to their moral state. Bishop Butler moreover qualifies his own statement, in the third chapter of the second book of the *Analogy*. Without that qualification the ordinary reader might claim Dr. Temple as one with that host of infidel objectors to the morality of the Old Testament, to whose objections Bishop Butler gives a general and a sufficient answer in the passage to which I last referred. "It is the province of reason to judge of the morality of the Scripture; that is, not whether it contains things different from what we should have expected from a wise, just, and good being, for objections from hence have been now obviated; but whether it contains things plainly contradictory to wisdom, justice, or goodness; to what the light of nature teaches us of God. And I know nothing of this sort objected against Scripture, excepting such objections as are formed upon suppositions, which would equally conclude that the constitution of nature is contradictory to wisdom, justice, or goodness; which most certainly it is not."<sup>3</sup>

The obvious design of Dr. Temple's language, "putting conscience between us and the Bible," is to lead his hearers to regard it not as a divine revelation, or as containing a divine revelation, but as a merely valuable collection of records highly useful in a practical point of view, and to be received rather as a guide of conduct than as a law of faith. And when the

<sup>1</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* p. 486, April 1861.

<sup>2</sup> Conclusion of the first chapter of the Second Book of Butler's *Analogy of Religion Natural and Revealed to the Con-*

*stitution and Course of Nature.*

<sup>3</sup> *Analogy*, pp. 266, 267. 4th edit. 1750.

reader looks into his sermons, if he finds there any teaching leading his pupils to regard the Son of God as their Redeemer and the sacrifice for the sins of the whole world, he will find there that for which I have looked in vain. It is a sign that we are fallen upon evil days, that such a teacher has it in his power most effectually to spread spiritual devastation amongst the youth of this kingdom. It is a sign that whatsoever earnestness and vitality may be found amongst us as a scientific, a commercial, and a money-making generation, we have ceased to value the high distinction of being a people consecrated to the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ.

## XVI.

Those who, with Professor Stanley, regard Christianity only as a clearer exposition of the moral law, and our Redeemer not as a sacrifice for sin, but only as an example of godly life, are nevertheless as unhappily wanting in that kindness of spirit and manly integrity which are ever united in the true Christian, as they are ready to proclaim their own superiority in contrast with those who will not let go their veneration of the Scriptures as a rule not only of morals but of faith. The bitter invective, the offensive levity which could indulge in the anecdote of the umbrella and the not very stately simile of 'the stately oxen,'<sup>1</sup> are but too much in harmony with those unjustifiable attacks upon the Bishop of St. David's and Professor Mansel which will come under our notice. I have had opportunities of remarking the peculiarities as well of Unitarian morality as of Unitarian controversy. Nothing is more disingenuous than the latter, and nothing is more Pharisaical than the former. The avowedly Socinian tendencies of Dr. Stanley and his friends he has himself proclaimed in his Sermons, and evinced in other publications. In consistency with the real moral inferiority of the opponents of Christian faith to those whom they hold up to public scorn, Professor Stanley holds up the Bishop of St. David's to ridicule as springing with delight upon his prey, whom he characterizes as his evidently welcome foe.<sup>2</sup> Such a representation is little better than wilful injustice to the Bishop of St. David's, whose whole conduct to Dr. Williams has been the very extreme of candour and forbearance. From first to last he acted upon the conviction which he expressed in his Charge of 1857. He exposed himself to censure in some quarters from his very great moderation, and not only was he attacked with an asperity utterly incomprehensible, on the part of Dr. Rowland Williams, but is publicly ridiculed in the *Edinburgh Review* by Professor Stanley.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* p. 471, April 1861.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 477.



Dr. Stanley, at p. 480, would implicate Bishop Thirlwall in a charge of inconsistency, in having joined in the condemnation of the *Essays and Reviews*, after having written, several years ago, a Preface to Schleiermacher's *Critical Essay on St. Luke's Gospel*.<sup>1</sup> Again, the Bishops of St. David's and Hereford are represented at p. 49 as making common cause with the writers of the *Essays and Reviews*: "In justice to the Bishops of St. David's and Hereford, no less than to the Essayists, we must consider the grounds for that right of speech, &c." Bishop Hampden in his *Bampton Lectures*, and the late Professor Hey in his *Lectures on the Articles*, are moreover stated in the same page to have advanced positions "entirely identical with those of the Essayists." Will Professor Stanley make good this assertion before the world? Does he not know that to endeavour to lead his readers to regard the Lectures of Hey and Hampden as identical in spirit and in sentiment with the *Essays and Reviews*, is to attempt as palpable and injurious a fraud as was ever attempted on the arena of controversy? Strange that, induced by the hope of assisting his friends the Essayists, Dr. Stanley should have so readily misrepresented the Bishop of Hereford. That my readers may see the injustice of his reference to the Bishop of St. David's in connection with Schleiermacher, I subjoin the following letter.

*To the Editor of the Spectator, April 20, 1861.*

"SIR,—Your number of the 6th of April contains a very brief notice of a pamphlet entitled '*Essays and Reviews*' anticipated: Extracts from a work published in the year 1825, and attributed to the Lord Bishop of St. David's.

"Your notice states that the book in question (a translation of Schleiermacher's *Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke*, with an introduction by the translator) has 'always been considered as the work of the Rev. Connop Thirlwall, now Bishop of St. David's.' And it adds, 'The general tendency of these extracts is undoubtedly such as to render it perfectly clear that, supposing the general impression as to their authorship to be correct, the opinions of the Bishop of St. David's must have undergone a complete change on many essential points before he could possibly bring himself to join in even the most qualified condemnation of the *Essays and Reviews*.'

"I was led by these statements to procure the pamphlet, that I might see how far they are borne out by its contents. And I find that, in one particular, they are equally at variance with the pamphlet and with the facts of the case. The pamphlet states that the work is universally attributed to Mr. Connop Thirlwall. Your readers are informed that it was the work of a clergyman. It was the work of a young law-student. I can hardly conceive that you can regard this as an immaterial circumstance. If you do, you are certainly singular in that opinion. I venture to think that, if the *Essays and Reviews* had been the work of seven laymen, it would not have caused much more excitement than the volume, which, having fallen nearly dead from the press, has just been exhumed to answer a temporary purpose. I have no right to complain—hardly reason to lament—that your reviewer should have formed his opinion of a work, which to be fairly judged requires more than most others to be studied as a whole, from extracts so dishonestly compiled that the translator is represented as holding views which he reports for the purpose

of controverting them. But as from the language of your reviewer your readers may be led to suppose that I denied the possibility of miracles, or the reality of prophecy, or, maybe, had even thrown out doubts as to the existence of a God, I must observe that the Introduction, which is but too justly termed 'lengthy,' is, with the exception of a very few pages, a mere review of a very dry controversy, and does not touch upon any point of doctrine, and that there are only two passages in which it enters upon ground including any topics discussed in *Essays and Reviews*. The one concerns Inspiration, the other Miracles. There is an outline of a theory of Inspiration, no doubt very imperfect and inadequate, but the more excusable in a young lawyer, as in its essential features it might plead the authority of distinguished Anglican divines. On the subject of Miracles, there is a comment on one of the rationalist attempts to get rid of them, which, as it appears to me, involves the 'condemnation,' calm in language but not 'qualified' in principle, of the teaching of *Essays and Reviews* on that head. As to the Essay itself, I deny that the language in which it is recommended to the reader's attention warrants any one in making the translator responsible either for the whole, or for any part of its contents. But I can say more than this. That which then attracted me to it was not its negative, but its positive element, which prevails in it much more largely than the extracts would lead the reader to suppose, and which, considering both the freedom of the author and the nature of his school, I still regard as an admission not without value. As to the rest, even at that time the appearance of originality and acuteness, which might naturally dazzle a young scholar, did not blind me to the precariousness of the reasoning; and the only change wrought in my mind by subsequent reading and reflection has been the strengthening of that impression into full conviction.

"I have not needed any such change as your reviewer supposes, to set me at perfect liberty with regard to *Essays and Reviews*. I am not aware of having refused to others any licence which I ever claimed for myself. And, if it please God, I shall never consent to the narrowing, by a hair's breadth, that latitude of opinion which the Church has hitherto conceded to her Ministers.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient Servant,

"C. ST. DAVID'S.

"Abergwili Palace, Carmarthen,

"April 13, 1861."

[If the Bench would only answer *Essays and Reviews* as fully and calmly as Dr. Thirlwall has answered our Reviewer, the book would soon be relegated to its natural position, as a series of very fanciful and very feeble pamphlets. —ED.]

## XVII.

1. Since the greater part of these pages was written, the *Replies* to the *Essays* and the *Aids to Faith* were published. Excellent, indeed, are the contributions of my valued friends Mr. Rose and Dr. Wordsworth. Dean Ellicott has put forth many pertinent observations in his contribution to the *Aids to Faith*. And Dr. Wordsworth has, in his *Lectures on the Interpretation of the Bible*, brought together in a condensed form a mass of information as interesting as it is important. I regret, indeed, that Dr. Wordsworth should, in a note to his first Lecture, quote Milner's *End of Controversy*, the most unblushingly mendacious attack upon Protestantism that has appeared

in the present century. Infidelity has never triumphed in Protestant countries. It has taken root and spread ruin and desolation only where Christianity was debased and corrupted by the idolatries and immoralities of the Church of Rome. The English reader cannot refer without profit to Bishop Van Mildert's *Lectures on the Interpretation of Scripture*,<sup>1</sup> being the *Bampton Lectures* for 1814. Amongst the Lutheran divines of the earlier and better days of German Theology, may be mentioned the *Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Sacræ* of John James Rambach of Halle;<sup>2</sup> John Conrad Dannhauer's *Hermeneutica Sacra*, and *Idea boni Interpretis*; Joan. Olearii *Theologia Exegetica*; Pfeifferi *Thesaurus Hermeneuticus*; and Valentini Velthemii *Dissertatio de Scripturæ sensu literalī et mystico*; also Joh. Ol. Zeitfuchs' *Theologia Exegetica*. With respect to grammars, the late Rev. Hugh James Rose has convicted Winer of numerous inaccuracies and great negligence in his notes to Bishop Middleton *On the Greek Article*.<sup>3</sup>

2. In 1829 appeared a Grammar of the New Testament in Latin, by Dr. John Cha. Wilhelm Alt of Hoyerswerda in Silesia, a Lutheran clergyman of Eisleben. It was published at Halle in Saxony, in 1829. Whilst the author frequently refers with commendation to Winer, his object in publishing his Grammar was partly to give his reasons for differing in various instances from him. It was much esteemed by the late Professor Scholefield, to whose memory some of the best scholars of the day have not failed to do justice, in the face of that spirit of depreciation of everything and everybody in the last generation which is too prevalent amongst the more recent aspirants to literary distinction. Mr. Ellicott, whose spirit every sincere Christian must admire the more by contrast with the flippancy of Professor Jowett, has unhappily not altogether steered clear of that undue regard for the cumbersome and often untrustworthy learning of modern Germany, which ignores the sounder literature of a previous age. He all at once falls into the probably groundless claims to antiquity which Tischendorf has

<sup>1</sup> This is indeed an unequal work and somewhat diffuse; neither are all its positions equally tenable. It contains many valuable notes and references, especially those to *Turretin de SS. Interpretatione*, and to Pfeifferi *Hermeneutica Sacra*.

<sup>2</sup> This work by Joh. J. Rambach, of whom a memoir is given at page 99, vol. ii. of Edw. E. Koch's *Geschichte des Kirchenlieds und Kirchengesangs*, Stuttg. 1852, is very valuable. Dr. Rambach assisted John Henry Michaelis in his edition of the Hebrew Bible, an edition highly commended by my learned and accomplished friend Dr. Robinson, Master

of the Temple, himself the translator of the Old Testament into the Persian language.

<sup>3</sup> "Bp. Middleton's Monograph ('Doctrine of the Greek Article applied to the Criticism and Illustration of the New Testament') even if its philological groundwork be thought a little precarious, will always be regarded as the text-book on this interesting subject, and is a lasting monument of intellectual acuteness and exact learning."—Rev. F. H. Scrivener's *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, p. 14. Camb. Deighton, Bell, and Co., 1862.

made for the Codex Sinaiticus. He appears very certain that the Codex Alexandrinus at 1 Tim. 3. 16 read  $\delta\varsigma$  not  $\theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ . Mr. Scrivener has on the other hand established that here, as in very many other instances, the Codex Alexandrinus, although undoubtedly corrupted in some passages like the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, is in agreement with the *textus receptus*.<sup>1</sup>

The Holy Scriptures, like the Creeds and the Thirty-nine Articles, have been subjected to every kind of critical torture because they have a meaning of their own, which meaning is in opposition to various individuals who would be called believers and Christians whilst they will believe nothing beyond that which their own feelings or so-called moral sense will allow them to believe, and claim freedom as much from the implicit following of Christ as from the implicit following of Athanasius or Augustine.<sup>2</sup> There have always been very many who would choose out of the Scriptures and Christianity just so much as pleased them, discarding meanwhile the very essential doctrines and peculiarities of the Christian religion.<sup>3</sup>

3. Not only so; the earliest converts to Christianity, whether Jews or Gentiles, brought with them into the Church some remains of their previous opinions; and as in the first instance the converts were gathered from the Jews and from the Jewish proselytes, a Jewish taint was very early introduced into Christian doctrine. Hence the notion of the millennium, or an earthly, temporal, and personal reign of Christ upon the earth previously to the general resurrection, received by Irenæus and Justin Martyr, but acknowledged by them both to be the opinion only of some Christians, and not the acknowledged doctrine of the Church.<sup>4</sup> Hence the opinion that the sons of God in the 6th chapter of Genesis were angels. Hence the opinion that Enoch and Elijah will revisit the earth toward the end of the world. Hence the belief that each individual has his guardian angel. The Greek Fathers brought with them a tincture of their philosophical education, whence the saying of Bishop Cox that the Greek Fathers pelagianized, and the admission of Bishop Montagu in his *Appello Cæsarem* that the Fathers in some instances ventured too far in regard of the power of the will.<sup>5</sup> Walch has made a similar observation in the 14th chapter of

<sup>1</sup> Compare Dean Ellicott's note on 1 Tim. iii. 18, and the Rev. F. H. Scrivener's *Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T.*, pp. 453, 454. There Mr. Scrivener has fully vindicated the testimony of Dr. John Berriman and of others, beginning with Patrick Young, librarian to Charles I., to whom this MS. was presented in 1628.

<sup>2</sup> See Dr. Wordsworth's *Essay on the Interpretation of Scripture*, p. 411. "It is not more strange and extraordinary that there should be controversies con-

cerning the meaning of Scripture, than that there should be wars and fightings among us." (pp. 411—414.)

<sup>3</sup> On this eclectic Christianity see Prof. Mansel's *Bampton Lectures*, Lect. 8, pp. 249—255.

<sup>4</sup> See Whitby's *Treatise on the True Millennium Paraphrase and Commentary*, &c., vol. ii. pp. 719, 720. 6th edit. Lond. 1744. And his *Dissertatio de Scripturarum Interpretatione secundum Patrum Commentarios*. Lond. 1714.

<sup>5</sup> *Appello Cæsarem*, p. 113.

his *Bibliotheca Patristica*, under his notice of Clemens Alexandrinus.<sup>1</sup> So the foundation of Purgatory was laid in the Platonic philosophy, and hence the traces of this error in the writings of Tertullian.<sup>2</sup>

Again, from their ignorance of the Hebrew language they could not be accurate interpreters of the Old Testament. And even Origen and Jerome, with their knowledge of that language, were very adventurous and uncertain critics. Neither the one nor the other can be safely followed in regard of the text of the New Testament.<sup>3</sup>

4. But under whatsoever disadvantages the Fathers laboured, and into whatsoever mistakes they fell, or of whatsoever allegorical extravagances they were guilty, some knowledge of their works is indispensable to all who would trace the history of interpretation and of Christian doctrine. Thus it has been shewn by the late Professor Blunt, from the writings of Justin Martyr and others, how truly the teaching of the Primitive Church was the teaching of the doctrine of our redemption by the cross of Christ; and so, from Clemens Romanus and Irenæus to the latest period that can be called Patristic, we see, in the whole succession of Christian writers, how full were all the great pastors of the Church, of the connection of the Old and New Testaments.

A very cursory acquaintance with the Fathers would suffice to shew that the authors of the *Essays and Reviews* and their several advocates can have nothing essentially in common with the Fathers apostolic or post-apostolic, ante or post-nicene. The whole stream of ancient interpretation vindicates the great truths, that *the Scriptures testify of Christ*; that Moses wrote of him; that to him give all the law and prophets witness. As St. Augustine says, "Ad illum omnia quæ divinitus scripta sunt, referuntur,"<sup>4</sup> "to him all things are referred that are written in the Scriptures;" for the context shews that to them he points in the word *divinitus*.

5. The works of Chrysostom and Theodoret abound in useful illustrations of the interpretation of the New Testament; whilst in a dogmatical point of view St. Athanasius and St. Augustine are excellent, the one upon the mystery of the Holy Trinity and the mediatorial work and office of the blessed Redeemer, the other upon the doctrine of divine grace. But the numerous and manifold endowments of St. Augustine are very impartially treated by Dr. Henry Nicolas Clausen, Professor of Theology in the University of Copenhagen, in his *Aurelius Augustinus Hippo-nensis Sacræ Scripturæ Interpres*, printed at Copenhagen, 1827. Dr. Clausen indeed presents his readers with a faithful portrait

<sup>1</sup> p. 708. Jenæ 1834.

<sup>2</sup> See Bishop Kaye's *Tertullian*, pp. 328, 329. 3rd edit. 1845.

<sup>3</sup> Numerous proofs of this allegation

will be found in the notes to Matthæi's two editions of the Greek Testament.

<sup>4</sup> *In Ps.* 71 (72), p. 947. *Op. tom.* viii. Pars I. Lugd. 1561.



of this great Father, pointing out his defects, and meanwhile illustrating at every step the history of that system of interpretation which resulted from the use of imperfect versions of the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament.<sup>1</sup> In his 28th section he indeed censures St. Augustine's interpretation of some passages of the New Testament, because he deduces from them that doctrine which our own Church maintains in common with St. Augustine, and partly in his own words.<sup>2</sup> In like manner he proceeds to condemn that Father because in truth he did not distort and explain away those numerous passages which refer the predestination of the saints not to their merits, but to the secret purpose and grace of God.<sup>3</sup> The Dean of Westminster has contributed to revive the study of St. Augustine by his very interesting manuals, the *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount drawn from the Writings of St. Augustine*,<sup>4</sup> and his *St. Augustine as an Interpreter of Holy Scripture*.

For a general view of the Greek Fathers as interpreters of the New Testament, the second edition of *Suiceri Thesaurus* will be of infinite service, and the pages of Wolfii *Curæ Philologicæ* are a guide throughout the New Testament to the profitable use of it. The now forgotten Commentary of Marloratus shews, his deep acquaintance with Patristic learning. Notwithstanding their defects as adherents of the Romish Church, invaluable are the collections of Natalis Alexander *On the Gospels*, and of Estius *On the Epistles*.

6. Professor Ellicott very justly exposes<sup>5</sup> the fallaciousness of Professor Jowett's assertion that the Scriptures are to be *interpreted like any other book*, which however Professor Jowett practically himself renounces, inasmuch as he would be ashamed to interpret any other book with so much negligence and with such allowed inaccuracy as he recommends to the Biblical student. Excellently also has Mr. Birks observed upon this critical canon of Professor Jowett: "The maxim lately propounded as the master-key of theology, *to interpret the Bible like any other book*, is one of those half truths which have often the mischievous effect of entire falsehoods. For the Bible is like other books, and it is unlike them. It resembles them in being the work of various human authors, whose circumstances, tastes, and habits of thought and language, tinge and colour each separate portion.<sup>6</sup> But it differs from them, because it is the

<sup>1</sup> See Sectio Tertia, § 19, 20, 23.

<sup>2</sup> In the 10th Article.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. viii. 28; ix. 15, 16, 18, 21; Ephes. i. 3; Phil. ii. 13; 2 Tim. i. 9, &c. See Clausen, p. 258.

<sup>4</sup> This valuable little work, published in 1851, first directed my attention to Dr. Clausen's work. See the *Preface*, p. xiii.

<sup>5</sup> *Aids to Faith*, p. 391. See *Essays and Reviews*, p. 377. Professor Jowett

himself is obliged to qualify this dictum; but his appeal to the bias of the interpreter as a judicial standard for his use of the term the *moral* sense elsewhere, amounts to this; lays him fully open to the censures of his opponents. See Dr. Wordsworth's *Essay in the Replies*, p. 457.

<sup>6</sup> On the *human element* in the Scriptures see Mr. Birks' *Bible and Modern Thought*, pp. 249—251.

Word of the Holy Ghost, and a divine unity of supernatural truth and wisdom animates the whole, and makes it instinct throughout with the mind of that Spirit who *searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God*.<sup>1</sup> To insist on the former truth and to deny the second, which is higher and more weighty, is not to *simplify* but to *falsify* its interpretation. Unbelief is the starting-point of such a mode of study, and therefore unbelief is its natural and necessary consummation.<sup>2</sup>

7. But not to detain my readers with another dissertation on the subject of Interpretation, I will proceed to a few strictures upon some of Mr. Ellicott's criticisms, which ought not, I think, to pass unnoticed.

1. At pp. 402, 403, he represents St. Paul as changing the words of the 68th Psalm to suit them to his subject. It would have been more accurate to have said that he used only an equivalent expression when he said, *and gave gifts unto men*. (Eph. iv. 8.) Surenhusius observes that Raschi (Jarchi) gives for the meaning of the original word לִקְחֹתָ, *accepisti dona ad distribuenda ea filiis hominum*, thou hast received gifts to distribute them among the sons of men.<sup>3</sup> And the Rev. Christopher Cartwright, a learned orientalist of the 17th century, in his very rare and valuable *Sermons on the Apostles' Creed*, similarly affirms that this verb in Ps. lxviii. 19, is used in the sense of *to take for or take to give*.<sup>4</sup> "*Fetch me a little water*, said Elijah to the widow. (1 Kings xvii. 10.) According to the original it is, *Receive, or take me (or for me) a little water*; and that is as much as if he had said, *Give me a little water*. So verse 13, *Bring me a morsel of bread*; in the Hebrew, *Receive or take me, &c.* It is the same word which is used Ps. lxviii. 18." So in *Stockii Clavis*<sup>5</sup> we have "metonymice significat capere ad dandum, Ps. lxviii. 19; Ex. xxv. 2; Hos. xiv. 2;" and Dr. Thomas Randolph, Lady Margaret's Divinity Professor at Oxford, President of Corpus Christi College, and Archdeacon of Oxford, instances this application of the word in Gen. xxvii. 13, xlvi. 9; 1 Kings iii. 24; and 2 Kings ii. 20, in his work upon *The Quotations in the New Testament*.

2. At page 422, Mr. Ellicott suggests the adoption of the reading of the Vulgate and its satellites B, D, L, 4,<sup>6</sup> and the cursive MS. 33; but A, E, and a great majority of the other uncials, favour the common reading answering to *from the coasts of Tyre and Sidon*. (Mark vii. 31.)

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *The Bible and Modern Thought*, p. 247. And so Bishop Van Mildert: "The Bible has pretensions exclusively its own. In his interpretation of it, the critic must bear in mind that it is the work of sacred penmen, not of unassisted human powers." *Bampton Lectures for 1814*, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> Surenhusii Βιβλος Καταλλαγης, p. 585. Amstel. 1713.

<sup>4</sup> p. 260. *The Doctrine of Faith, &c.*, by Christopher Cartwright, Minister of the Word at York. Lond. 1650, p. 260.

<sup>5</sup> Lipsiæ, 1753, p. 605.

<sup>6</sup> ἦλθεν διὰ Σιδῶνος εἰς.

3. He next suggests the omission of *in Ephesus* in Eph. i. 1. Besides the very doubtful Codex Sinaiticus, the only uncial MS. which omits the words is the Codex Vaticanus, a MS. evidently made upon critical principles, and not a simple copy of an older original. This is obvious from its omission of our Saviour's agony and bloody sweat, and of the account of the woman taken in adultery. The words are recognised by the Vulgate.

4. Again, he suggests the omission of the words, *And as they went to tell his disciples*. (Matt. xxviii. 9.) Here again the Vulgate and B, D, are preferred to all the other uncials and a vast amount of other authorities. Mr. Ellicott more reasonably pleads for the omission of Acts viii. 37, but he should have remembered that that verse was brought into the text probably from the Vulgate and other Western authorities.

5. In page 424, Mr. Ellicott would give up Ephes. v. 5, *Of him who is the Christ and God*, as it is read both by Bishop Middleton and by the late Rev. Hugh James Rose.<sup>1</sup> This surely is an oversight.

6. Again, why should he say of *ὑπερ* in Gal. iii. 13, and 1 Pet. iii. 18, that it does not refer to vicarious suffering? It is clear that this is the very point on which St. Paul's argument in the Epistle to the Galatians depends; and that in St. Peter the preposition occurs in a sacrificial allusion, which would, we know, bring up to the mind of a Jewish reader the idea of vicariousness.

7. At page 425, Dean Ellicott is unjustly severe upon the translators of 1611, who altered our version to *But if any man draw back*,<sup>2</sup> instead of *But if he*. "Few perversions," he says, "have been more decided." Upon this passage Professor Scholefield, who would return to the reading of our older version, *but if he draw back*, remarks, "Bishop Middleton on Joh. viii. 44 seems to countenance the insertion of *any man* here by our translators." In a note he adds: "It should be observed, however, that some such insertion as that made by our translators is countenanced by the spirit of the original, Habak. ii. 4, where the clause to which *καὶ ἐὰν ὑποστείληται*, &c., corresponds, comes in order before that in which *the just* is mentioned, and therefore *the just* cannot be the subject of it. In the Septuagint translation of the Prophets, which the Apostle quotes, *ὑποστείληται* can hardly be taken otherwise than with *τις* understood."<sup>3</sup>

8. On Acts ii. 47, *And the Lord added to the Church daily*

<sup>1</sup> Middleton *On the Greek Article*, p. 363, ed. Rose, 1841.

<sup>2</sup> Heb. x. 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Hints for an Improved Translation of the N. T.* 2nd edit. with additions. Camb. 1836, p. 106. The late Dr. Wm. Cunningham also alleges in behalf of Beza, Dean Trench's remark at page 199 of the 2nd edition of his work *On the*

*Authorized Version of the New Testament in connection with recent proposals for its revision*, that the same sense is assigned to the passage upon purely philological grounds by De Wette and Winer, who had no Calvinistic predilections. *The Reformers and the Theology of the Reformation*, by Dr. W. Cunningham. Edinb. T. and T. Clark, 1862, p. 355.

such as should be saved, we read at page 429: "Let us observe, for instance, how an attention to the force of a tense removes all possible difficulty from such a verse as Acts ii. 47." And where lies the difficulty? Those who translate *those who were saved*,<sup>1</sup> bring into the text a tautology foreign to the Scriptures. The Vulgate and Beza here agree *qui salvi fierent*. Accordingly the Rhemish Translation, which is literally from the Vulgate, is, *And our Lord increased them that should be saved, daily together*. And so the treatise of Clemens Alexandrinus, *Τὸς ὁ σωζόμενος πλούσιος*, is, "Who is the rich man *that shall be saved?*"<sup>2</sup> Nothing is more common than the use both of the present tense and of its participle for the future; so *αἷμα ἐκχυνόμενον* which is shed, i. e. which shall be shed for many; and Luke xxii., *σῶμα διδόμενον*, which is, i. e. which shall be given for you.<sup>3</sup>

9. Mr. Ellicott would read in 1 Tim. ii. 15, *she shall be saved by the child-bearing*,<sup>4</sup> i. e. "by him who was born of the blessed Virgin." Surely our own version *in child-bearing* is more agreeable to the context, *διὰ* being taken here for *ἐν*. The woman, notwithstanding the sufferings that were imposed upon child-birth in consequence of Eve's transgression, shall be saved under this infliction, or in the endurance of these sorrows, if she continue in the exercise of the Christian graces.<sup>5</sup> Mr. Ellicott gives the less natural interpretation on the very plea that appears the least available, its suitableness to the context.

10. So he will have 1 Tim. v. 22, *Lay hands suddenly on no man*, to apply not to ordination but to absolution. The context here again surely favours the ordinary interpretation. St. Paul had just been laying down directions for the conduct of Timothy with respect to the pastors of the Church. Mr. Ellicott here again, but still more than in the former instance, leaves the general consent of the learned for a path, the singularity of which would at once decide a scholar against it, who had not fallen into the error of our day, the magnifying his own generation at the expense of its predecessors.

11. Mr. Ellicott favours the opinion that our Lord anticipated the legal Passover.<sup>6</sup> Mr. Clinton is with him here in his interesting chapter on the Gospel Chronology, in his *Epitome of the Chronology of Rome and Constantinople*.<sup>7</sup> But the opposite is ably proved, in the elaborate note upon the Passover, in the 8th part of Dr. Edward Robinson's *Gospel Harmony*.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Webster and Wilkinson's *New Testament*, vol. i. p. 554. Doddridge's *Expositor*. Lond. Tegg, 1829, p. 436. Whitby, vol. i. p. 624.

<sup>2</sup> Bishop Kaye's *Clemens Alex.* p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> See Alt's *Grammar of the N. T.*, p. 176.

<sup>4</sup> p. 434.

<sup>5</sup> See Beza in loc. p. 630, *In Nov.*

*Test.* Camb. 1642.

<sup>6</sup> p. 438.

<sup>7</sup> Edited by his brother the Rev. C. J. Fynes Clinton, 1853, p. 325.

<sup>8</sup> *A Harmony of the Four Gospels in Greek according to the Text of Hahn*. Revised edition. Boston, U. S. 1853, pp. 212—222.

12. Neither does *exuens se* or *exuens carnem* appear to be either requisite or justifiable as the meaning of ἀπεκδυσάμενος.<sup>1</sup> Our Lord triumphed on the cross in his crucified body, and when he went up on high, leading captivity captive, it was in that same body although in a changed and glorified state. But again, the verb naturally refers to *the Father* and not to the Son.<sup>2</sup> To refer the 13th verse to the Son is at best an arbitrary process, but the 15th depends upon the 13th verse.

13. In Col. i. 15, it is sufficient for the vindication of the only possible interpretation, to allege that the Jews were wont to use the term πρωτότοκος of the most excellent. So God himself is called, by R. Joseph Bechai, in his *Commentary on the Pentateuch*,<sup>3</sup> *the first-born of the world*, as being the lord of all things. Dr. Whitby therefore appropriately illustrates this passage by a reference to the Old Testament, 2 Chron. xxi. 3, *But the kingdom gave he to Jehoram, because he was the first-born.* And Ps. lxxxix. 27, *Also I will make him my first-born, higher than the kings of the earth.* Without having recourse to the Analogy of faith, the following words in ver. 16, *For by him were all things created*, forbid the glosses of the Arians and Socinians.

8. Neither is there any need to hold out as a rule that we should interpret by the Analogy of faith. The student who takes his faith from the Church of Rome will pervert a thousand passages in Holy Scripture and plead the Analogy of faith. By the same principle the Arian and the Socinian profess to be guided when they will not allow the Scriptures to speak for themselves. Neither am I sure that Mr. Ellicott himself might not be misled, and stifle the evidence of many a passage that contains a truth admitted formerly with unanimity in our own Church, but now by many misunderstood and rejected. The Apostles and Evangelists are to be our guides in interpretation, and need not be restrained within any boundaries of our enactment. The compiler of that really eclectic MS., the *Codex Vaticanus*, would have pleaded the Analogy of faith for his omission of the account of our Redeemer's agony and bloody sweat. And it is just this very class of corrupt MSS., bearing the marks of corruption on their very surface, that our modern critics, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and Deans Alford and Ellicott, have been industriously holding up to, I suspect, the ignorant veneration of their contemporaries. I would then fearlessly urge the student of Holy Scripture to regard simply the context and the scope of his author, and not to put the question to himself, is this according to the whole body of theology which I have been taught to accept? The truths of Christianity

<sup>1</sup> p. 441. Coloss. ii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Venice, 1603, p. 115. See Wolfii

<sup>2</sup> See Wolfii *Curæ Philol. in N. T.*, *Curæ Philol.* tom. iv. p. 288.  
tom. iv. p. 318.



shine forth for themselves. A Socinian, in perverting any text of Scripture, is refuted by his author and by the context, where-soever he may lay his impious hand upon the Scriptures. It is wonderful how those who minister in the same communion, will, in any contested point—and what article of faith has not been contested amongst us?—pervert the Scriptures to adapt them to his view of the Analogy of faith. We have seen this carried to a most alarming extent in that dishonest section of the clergy, who are in the habit of blaspheming the doctrine of the Atonement whilst ministering in our churches. Mr. Ellicott, moved by an instance of this in the disgraceful pages of Mr. Maurice, cannot help remarking at p. 425, “But we do justly complain with such words before us as τέκνα ὀργῆς, actually rendered by one living writer “children of impulse,” &c. The whole treatment which the Scriptures receive at the hands of this school is dishonest. Witness the treatment of *ἰλασμός* in Mr. Maurice’s truly antichristian work *On Sacrifice*. But whence is it? Mr. Maurice will urge that it is against the analogy of *his* faith to suffer Scripture to speak such and such things. And, alas, I fear that the above cited passage, *children of wrath*,<sup>2</sup> has been repeatedly stifled that it might not rebuke the popular semi-Pelagianism. Yet with how many is semi-Pelagianism accepted as an acknowledged portion of the Analogy of faith! Rather then let the student of Holy Scripture be taught to interpret Scripture by Scripture, and so one truth will throw light upon another, one passage will illustrate another. Let him read Fathers and Commentators, and all kinds of ecclesiastical evidence. But let him believe in the clearness of the Word of God in all greater matters, and let him seek first to it in every instance.<sup>3</sup> Let him dread *the love of novelty*, and let him decide rather to lay Scripture aside altogether than to make use of it simply for his own credit’s sake, whilst he is resolved to accept only so much as may seem to harmonise with his own preconceptions. This eclectic Christianity, the pseudo-Christianity of the *Essays and Reviews* and of the Maurician school, is more to be reprobated than open infidelity, because it is morally more dishonourable.

9. Respecting prophecy, Mr. Ellicott observes, “It perhaps

<sup>1</sup> Maurice, *Unity of the New Testament*, p. 538.

<sup>2</sup> Ephes. ii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> He will by this course and by this alone, interpreting scripture by scripture, and following the natural or grammatical sense of scripture, arrive at the mind of the divine Author: the words may apply to a nearer and to a more distant object; they may or may not admit of a typical application in this and that passage; but scripture itself will point the way to the

right application. In the poetic and prophetic parts of scripture, the figurative will often be the natural sense, as the language of prophecy and poetry is symbolic; and hence the need of the study of symbols. The scriptural interpreter will be always within the prescribed limits of the analogy of faith. The controversial and purely dogmatic interpreter will defer not to the analogy of faith, but to his own preconceived opinions. See Rambach’s *Instit. Hermen.* p. 106.

would be well if unfulfilled prophecy were never to be applied to any other purposes than those of general encouragement and consolation."<sup>1</sup> Whatsoever may have been the extravagances in which the present race of interpreters have fallen in the department of prophetic interpretation, it is obvious that there is a connection between fulfilled and unfulfilled prophecy, to which a Christian cannot do well to shut his eyes. There are some broad outlines in regard of the future which are unmistakeable. It is only to be expected that many will take upon themselves to write upon prophecy, who are, for want of both learning and judgment, utterly incompetent. But again, shall we reject all the writers of the two last centuries because of some modern fashion of interpretation? Shall the scholar-like Lectures of Bishop Hurd be repudiated together with the trifling minutiae of Ellicott's *Horæ Apocalypticeæ*? Or have our Alford's really disproved the application of the 2nd chapter of the second Epistle to the Thessalonians to an apostacy in the bosom of the Church calling herself Christian? The nineteenth century has here also denounced without refuting the pious learning of past ages.

The present age of critics needs rather to be checked than encouraged in regard of that minute criticism which Mr. Ellicott recommends. Dean Trench's valuable works would have been the more valuable had much in this way been omitted. It is the fault of Mr. Ellicott's own publications, as also of Alford. We have a vast amount of detail that is unreliable and unprofitable. All is not learning that is *written*; and upon the New Testament the writings of modern Germany are infinite, whilst the profit to be derived from them is very limited. Their very diffuseness makes it the duty of those who feel that action and contemplation should go together, to close many a bulky work translated or untranslated. Meanwhile the student, looking into our modern exegetical treasures, is not unlikely to forget that there were any such authors as Chrysostom or Theodoret, Grotius or Beza.

### XVIII.

1. "The argument," writes Professor Stanley, "which rests religion on mere power as opposed to moral fitness, has been pushed by Mr. Mansel to the extravagant extent of *denying altogether the moral nature of the divine attributes*."<sup>2</sup> To this most unjust and groundless assertion is subjoined the following note: "We refer our readers to an admirable refutation of Mr. Mansel's attack on the divine morality contained in the Appendix to Professor Goldwin Smith's *Lectures on the Study of Modern History*." Professor Stanley hesitates not to charge upon Pro-

<sup>1</sup> p. 448.

<sup>2</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* April 1861, p. 485.

fessor Mansel as the teaching of that author his own inferences from his teaching, namely, the total denial of the moral nature of the divine attributes. Is this consistent with controversial morality? Is this the candour of Professor Stanley's school of thought and opinion, to charge upon their opponents whatsoever consequences they may be pleased to infer from their writings? It is in reality but one of those numberless instances of that arrogant and unchristian tone which distinguishes all that Professor Stanley advances against those who assert a positive theology. He has not stopped to make good his accusation. He has thought it enough to refer his readers to the flippant pages of the *Regius Professor of Modern History* in his University, an author, who, to judge from his *Rational Religion*, is not a Professor of the Christian religion. That religion rests upon historical evidence. It rests upon the Old Testament, upon the fulfilment of its prophecies. It rests upon the New Testament, upon the truth of its facts, upon the truth of that great and miraculous fact the Resurrection of Christ. If the truth of that miracle be not of vital importance to the truth of Christianity, words must cease to have any meaning. But we have seen that Professor Stanley thinks not so; he informs his readers that there are some virtuous and intelligent persons to whom the Resurrection of Christ is a stumbling-block instead of a help to their faith. And in the same spirit, rather with greater hardihood of scepticism, Mr. Goldwin Smith maintains that "no question concerning the validity of mere historical evidence can be absolutely vital to religion."<sup>1</sup> In other words, the belief in our Saviour's resurrection is of no importance to the integrity of Christianity, inasmuch as its reception depends upon the validity of mere historical evidence. "*Historical evidence*," he affirms, "*is not a ground upon which religion can possibly rest: for the human testimony of which such evidence consists is always fallible; the chance of error can never be excluded: and the extraordinary delusions into which great bodies of men have fallen, shew that even in the case of a multitude of witnesses, that chance may be present in a considerable degree, particularly if the scene of the alleged fact is laid in an uncritical age or nation.*"<sup>2</sup> The note that accompanies these remarks proves, beyond a doubt, that the miracles upon which Professor Goldwin Smith is here labouring to fix the charge of uncertainty, are the

<sup>1</sup> *Rational Godliness*, p. 108.

<sup>2</sup> The note appended to the above is as follows: "I say, 'age or nation.' We frequently hear divines repeating that the gospel miracles took place in the age of Tacitus. They took place in the age, but not in the country of Tacitus. The present is a critical age in England and Germany, but not in Turkey and Spain." Professor Goldwin Smith might

have remembered that there were Sadducees in Judæa then, as well as authors of certain Essays in England now; and these men would, in all likelihood, have been as able to detect imposture at Jerusalem, as would an Epicurean philosopher at Rome. But why should it require more critical acumen in a Roman than in a Jew to discern whether or no Lazarus was raised to life again?

miracles of our blessed Redeemer, not excepting the miracle of his Resurrection, in behalf of which the Apostle Paul, writing to the Corinthians, affirmed that after our Lord's resurrection *he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once.*" (1 Cor. xv. 6.) The author who can thus take up his pen to throw discredit at once upon the miracles of Christ, and the books in which those miracles have been handed down to the world, ought neither to claim the name of Christian, nor to be surprised if those who venerate that name, publicly withhold it from *him*.

That the Son of God once lived and died upon the earth, and rose again, all this comes to us on human testimony. But, replies Mr. Goldwin Smith, such testimony is always fallible. Is there then no certainty in human evidence?<sup>1</sup> Are there no criteria by which to test the credibility of human testimony? Mr. Smith cannot but be aware that to deny the existence of such criteria is contrary to the experience of the world and to common sense. He indeed admits that to act upon the fallibility of all human testimony would be impracticable in the affairs of life, in his own daily converse with the world. He admits that in ordinary cases we practically need no higher than probable evidence. Now to a reasonable man the evidence upon which the Gospel history rests, comes with all the force of demonstration.<sup>2</sup> By the laws of the human mind, by an appeal to his own experience of human nature, he is satisfied that the witnesses of our Lord's resurrection could not have been deceivers. He is in like manner satisfied of the truth of the whole Gospel history. His faith is therefore as certain as was that of the Apostles themselves. It is simply untrue that "the historical evidences of religion are necessarily and inherently of less than adamant strength."<sup>3</sup> The fulfilment of not a few of the prophecies of both the Old and New Testament is so palpable as to unveil to us the hand of the Almighty. Yet is this an historical evidence as distinguished from moral.

Professor Stanley then refers us to an infidel authority; or to one but little better; to an author who makes common cause with the unbeliever in respect of the insufficiency of the historic grounds of the Christian faith, for the proof of his charge against

<sup>1</sup> See Dr. Chalmers' *Institutes of Theology*, vol. i. B. 3; *Evidences of Christianity*, c. 1. "The error of Mr. Hume" (from whom Mr. G. Smith appears to borrow his dictum of the fallibility of all testimony) "lies here. He has failed to resolve testimony into its distinct species. He has chosen not to observe that of two kinds of testimony, the one may possess wholly different characteristics, and have been given in wholly different circumstances from the other; and that while the one may often, the other may never

once have deceived us." (p. 147 and seq.)

<sup>2</sup> "There is a species (*i. e.* of testimony) absolutely free of all falsities and errors—unimpeachable and without a flaw, and of which it were as hard to believe that it would deceive us, as to believe in the reality of any miracle. By one such testimony the whole unlikelihood of the miracle is done away; and by two or more the truth of it is established." (Ibid. p. 149.)

<sup>3</sup> *Rational Religion*, p. 110.

Mr. Mansel, that he altogether denies the moral nature of the divine attributes.

2. But when we look into Mr. Mansel's *Bampton Lectures*, what do we find in them but an explicit avowal of the moral nature of those attributes? "Man can be a law unto himself only on the supposition that he reflects in himself the law of God; that he shews, as the Apostle tells us, the works of that law written in his heart. If he is absolutely a law unto himself, his duty and his pleasure are indistinguishable from each other; for he is subject to no one and accountable to no one. Duty in this case becomes only a higher kind of pleasure, a balance between the present and the future, between the larger and the smaller gratification. We are thus compelled by the consciousness of moral obligation to assume the existence of a *moral Deity, and to regard the absolute standard of right and wrong as constituted by the nature of that Deity.*"<sup>1</sup>

What but a determinately blind antipathy on the part of Professor Stanley could have induced him to have stigmatized Mr. Mansel as basing "religion on mere power as opposed to moral fitness"? Mr. Mansel had in his 4th Lecture stated, as we here see in his own words, that the "absolute standard of right and wrong was constituted by the nature of the Deity," in other words, by his essential holiness and rectitude. Professor Stanley, a little before this rash attack upon Mr. Mansel, refers to Cudworth's *Immutable Morality*<sup>2</sup> as holding a doctrine opposed to that of Mr. Mansel; for Cudworth is brought forward to prepare the reader for the charge about to be advanced against Professor Mansel. What then does Cudworth assert? the very doctrine which Mr. Mansel upholds. "At the beginning of the last century," writes Dr. Stanley, "Cudworth and his school condemned in the strongest language the assertion that good and evil, just and unjust, depend on the arbitrary will of God." Mr. Mansel had taught that the standard of right and wrong was constituted by the *nature* of God. And to guard against the very misconception into which Dr. Stanley appears to have fallen, he had stated in a note to his 4th Lecture that "the theory which regards absolute morality as based on the immutable *nature* of God, must not be confounded with that which places it in his arbitrary *will*." He adds: "The latter view, which was maintained by Scotus, Occam, and others among the Schoolmen, is severely criticised by Sir James Macintosh, *Dissertation on the Progress of Ethical Philosophy*, sect. III., and by Müller, *Christliche Lehre von der Sünde*, book I. c. 3. The former principle is adopted by Cudworth as the basis of his treatise *On Eternal and Immutable Morality*. See book I. c. 3; Book IV. c. 4."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Bampton Lectures for 1858*. 3rd edit. pp. 111, 112.

<sup>2</sup> B. 1, c. 2, 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Bampton Lectures for 1858*, p. 360.



So much for Professor Stanley's discrimination! He charges Mr. Mansel with opposing Cudworth, whilst Mr. Mansel both in his Lectures and in the notes to his Lectures, asserts the same doctrine with Cudworth, and refers to the very passage of which Professor Stanley avails himself as the ground of this misrepresentation.

3. Professor Mansel had affirmed in his 7th Lecture, that "human morality even in its highest elevation is not identical with nor adequate to measure the absolute morality of God."<sup>1</sup> In his first letter to Mr. Smith, Professor Mansel says truly, "The moral nature of man bears direct witness to the existence of a moral God; but it does so because it points to one who is above man; because it is manifested as an obligation emanating from a lawgiver who has authority over us. If therefore the moral nature of man is *identical* with the moral nature of God, the latter too must imply the existence of a being superior to God, and having moral authority over him. The absurdity, not to say blasphemy, of such a conclusion is sufficient to shew that the correspondence between God's nature and man's, whatever it may be, does not amount to complete identity."<sup>2</sup>

Mr. Goldwin Smith's own ideas of the divine morality are taken from or are identical with those of the well-known infidel author Mr. Newman.<sup>3</sup> Mr. Newman demands the right to sit in judgment upon all the dealings of the Almighty in his divine government of his creatures by the standard of his own moral nature. So the Socinian arguments revived by Mr. Maurice and Mr. Davies presume that an atonement is inadmissible because we are commanded to forgive freely. And similarly Mr. Goldwin Smith in his much commended attack upon Professor Mansel. His complaint against him is that, according to his philosophy, "the moral nature of God cannot be imaged in that of man." It is indeed an exaggerated, and so far as it is an exaggerated, a false representation of Mr. Mansel's belief, as must be obvious to the candid reader who will bear in mind his admission that the law written in man's heart is a reflection of the law of God.<sup>4</sup>

But it will not suit the purpose of the infidel and the Socinian to admit of any mysteries in the government of the universe, or of any real revelation of God in the Scriptures. Man must be, to suit their pride, a pride as contrary to reason as it is to faith, the absolute measure of his Maker and of his Judge. "The author of Christianity," says Mr. Goldwin Smith, "bids us pray God to forgive us our trespasses as we

<sup>1</sup> p. 206.

<sup>2</sup> *A Letter to Prof. Goldwin Smith concerning the Postscript to his Lectures on the Study of History*, by H. L. Mansel, B.D., Waynflete Professor of Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy. Oxf. Henry

Hamman, High-street, 1861, pp. 5, 6. And see Prof. Mansel's Second Letter, 1862, p. 49.

<sup>3</sup> See Mr. Mansel's *Bampton Lectures*, p. 299, note 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 111.

forgive them that trespass against us; a direct appeal to an analogy between the human and divine nature. On the other hand the Bampton Lecturer says (page 214) that 'it is obvious, on a moment's reflection, that the duty of man to forgive the trespasses of his neighbour rests precisely upon those features of human nature which cannot by any analogy be regarded as representing an image of God.' I have read what the lecturer has said in his answer to Mr. Maurice, but there is no escaping the contradiction."<sup>1</sup> Positive assertion is, as usual, made to take the place of argument in the unreasoning denunciations of Mr. Smith. God is the governor of all creatures. Is man his image here? But when man does in some degree approach the resemblance of his Creator as standing in the place of authority, he does that very deed against which he complains in the divine government. Instead of forgiving his fellow-man upon his repentance, he takes his life as a satisfaction to justice, as requisite to sustain the honour and authority of law. So much for the consistency of the Socinian objection to the doctrine of a satisfaction for sin. But will the Socinian complain because he is not forgiven freely? Who then gave the satisfaction for him? who offered to make atonement for him? what does *he* contribute to the dishonoured lawgiver of heaven and earth? It is surely most deeply to be regretted that Professor Stanley should have recommended such irreligious flippancy to the public as *these* attacks upon Professor Mansel.<sup>2</sup>

4. Mr. Smith deems it intolerant to be expected to receive Christianity as a whole. Does not Professor Stanley blush as he reads the complaint of the Professor of Modern History; "Not only if you reject one jot or one tittle of the whole doctrine of Christ (page 249) must you pronounce the whole an imposture, but"<sup>3</sup> &c. There can be little doubt that the consistency of Professor Mansel as an advocate for Christianity has been the real cause of very much of the misrepresentation and displeasure with which he has been visited by Mr. Goldwin Smith and by his other opponents. They are for an eclectic Christianity; they regard our blessed Redeemer as a speculative philosopher of no greater authority than themselves, a mere Jew, the remarkable teacher of an uncritical and imperfectly

<sup>1</sup> Prof. Goldwin Smith's *Postscript to his Two Lectures on the Study of History*, pp. 88, 89. The reader will do well to weigh Professor Mansel's observations on this topic in pp. 43—45 of his first letter to Professor Goldwin Smith.

<sup>2</sup> Professor Goldwin Smith, in his *Rational Religion*, reasserts his own statements, but does not venture to meet Prof. Mansel: "I must decline to enter into a discussion which I cannot regard as relevant, as to the doctrine of Atone-

ment." (p. 64.)

<sup>3</sup> p. 87. Mr. Goldwin Smith would be equally indignant with the able author of the *Essay on Ideology and Subscription*. "The Christian Faith," says Mr. Cook, "is a perfect and indissoluble whole. We cannot consent to mutilate or disfigure it. We cannot entrust it to the care of any ministers who are not prepared to give full and satisfactory pledges that they accept it as a whole." *Aids to Faith*, p. 184.

civilized people. And when exposed to their contemporaries as mock Christians<sup>1</sup> they are stung by the exposure.

5. Professor Goldwin Smith having taught his readers that the historical foundations of Christianity are insufficient to warrant our faith, deals in an equally peremptory and godless spirit with the Old Testament and the religion inculcated in it. He regards the Jews as destroying the Canaanites not in consequence of a divine command, but simply for their own purposes and at the instigation of their own mere self-love and desire of territory. "Men," he says, "may, without a breach of morality, repeat the destruction of the Canaanites, if they can dissolve the great community of the human race, and put themselves back into the primitive age of war and conquest, and they will then find that to hold the land they have conquered by the title of a purer religion and a purer morality is at least better than to hold it by a genealogy or by the spear."<sup>2</sup>

6. And a little before, in that oracular style in which he so much delights, we are bidden to remember that "the Jewish nation was a nation, not a miracle."<sup>3</sup> Only by a consistent rejection of the whole volume of inspiration, and by closing the eyes to the history of the past and to the present aspect of the world, can any man come to persuade himself that the history of the Jewish nation is not a miraculous evidence of a Divine providence of the most unparalleled description, and (however the sceptic may with Mr. Goldwin Smith vaunt to the contrary) an historical attestation to the truth of Christianity. More true philosophy is contained in ten lines of devout George Herbert in his chapter, *The Parson's dexterity in applying of Remedies*,<sup>4</sup> than in all that Mr. Goldwin Smith or those who make common cause with him have ever produced.

7. The historical evidences of the religion of the Scriptures are facts, facts in an ample variety of instances open to the observation of every intelligent and thoughtful mind. For closing their eyes to this great body of evidence unbelievers have no excuse. They are provided with such a kind of evidence as is suited to their nature, and within the reach of all. They reply in the language of Mr. Goldwin Smith, "We need another kind of evidence." When the historical evidence is placed before them—and it is placed before them by the very hand of their Creator—they reply with him, "The historical evidences of religion are necessarily and inherently of less than adamantine strength;" in other words, the Apostles might have been deceived; we will not rest our hopes upon a crucified and risen Saviour; "the moral evidences are adamantine."<sup>5</sup> But mean-

<sup>1</sup> "Bowing the knee before him, half in reverence, half in mockery, and crying, 'Hail, King of the Jews.'" Mansel's *Lectures*, p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> p. 50.

<sup>4</sup> See especially pp. 87—89, ed. Pickering, 1842.

<sup>5</sup> *Rational Religion*, p. 110.

<sup>2</sup> *Rational Religion*, pp. 50, 51.

while their idea of that which is moral itself, they will not take from the Son of God; they must needs be gods to themselves. But if they were sincere in their regard for pure morality, if they were faithful in their deference to the genuine dictates of natural religion, they would see the internal evidence of the Old Testament itself; they would own its divine origin; they would bow to a divine teacher; and they would, with all his children, be *taught of God*. Invaluable is Professor Mansel's masterly sketch of the internal evidence of the Old Testament in his 5th Lecture.

8. "In no respect is the theology of the Bible, as contrasted with the mythologies of human invention, more remarkable than in the manner in which it recognizes and adapts itself to that complex and self-limiting constitution of the human mind, which man's wisdom finds so difficult to acknowledge. To human reason the personal and the infinite stand out in apparently irreconcilable antagonism; and the recognition of the one in a religious system almost inevitably involves the sacrifice of the other. The personality of God disappears in the Pantheism of India; his infinity is lost sight of in the Polytheism of Greece. In the Hebrew Scriptures on the contrary, throughout all their variety of books and authors, one method of divine teaching is constantly manifested, appealing alike to the intellect and to the feelings of man. From first to last we hear the echo of that first great commandment, *Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God is one Lord: and thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might.*<sup>1</sup> God is plainly and uncompromisingly proclaimed as the One and the Absolute: *I am the first, and I am the last: and beside me there is no God.*<sup>2</sup> Yet this sublime conception is never for an instant so exhibited as to furnish food for that mystical contemplation to which the Oriental mind is naturally so prone. On the contrary, in all that relates to the feelings and duties by which religion is practically to be regulated, we cannot help observing how the Almighty, in communicating with his people, condescends to place himself on what may, humanly speaking, be called a lower level than that on which the natural reason of man would be inclined to exhibit him. While his personality is never suffered to sink to a merely human representation; while it is clearly announced that his thoughts are not our thoughts, nor his ways our ways,<sup>3</sup> yet his infinity is never for a moment so manifested as to destroy or weaken the vivid reality of those human attributes, under which he appeals to the human sympathies of his creatures. *The Lord spake unto Moses face to face, as a man speaketh unto his friend.*<sup>4</sup> He will listen to our supplications.<sup>5</sup> He will help those that cry unto him.<sup>6</sup> He reserveth wrath for

<sup>1</sup> Deut. vi. 4, 5; St. Mark xii. 29, 30.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xlv. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Ib. lv. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Exod. xxxiii. 11.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. cxlii. 1, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. cii. 17, 18; clxv. 19; Isa. lviii. 9.

his enemies.<sup>1</sup> He is appeased by repentance.<sup>2</sup> He sheweth mercy to them that love him.<sup>3</sup> As a King he listens to the petitions of his subjects.<sup>4</sup> As a Father he pitieth his own children.<sup>5</sup> It is impossible to contemplate this marvellous union of the human and the Divine, so perfectly adapted to the wants of the human servant of a Divine Master, without feeling that it is indeed the work of him who formed the spirit of man, and fitted him for the service of his Maker. *He sheweth his word unto Jacob, his statutes and ordinances unto Israel. He hath not dealt so with any nation, neither have the heathen knowledge of his laws.*"<sup>6</sup>

9. I trust I shall be pardoned if I take this opportunity of introducing a somewhat similar passage, from a practical and devotional manual which cheered many a solitary moment during the three years occupied upon it.

"The Scriptures as they are the work of God, so they bear the traces of his hand; his Spirit is in them. When the whole world was full of idolatry, yet God was known in Israel as *the Lord, the Lord God, merciful and gracious, long-suffering and abundant in goodness and truth; keeping mercy for thousands; forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin; and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children and upon the children's children unto the third and to the fourth generation.* (Exod. xxxiv. 6, 7.) Was not this the revelation of God?"<sup>7</sup>

I regret, indeed, that in his last Lecture Professor Mansel should have attributed to internal evidence a much narrower influence and a far inferior function to that which he so touchingly acknowledges in his third Lecture. The instances there given, and which I have incorporated with these pages, display the divinity of revelation by a comparison with the feeble light of natural religion independently of the features of any age or nation. The contrast is undoubtedly more striking, and accordingly the evidence still clearer, when we take into consideration the inferiority of the Jews as a people, and of the ethical and philosophical systems of the heathen world. I regret therefore the assertion of Mr. Mansel in his 8th Lecture, that "the evidence derived from the internal character of a religion, whatever may be its value within its proper limits, is, as regards the divine origin of the religion, purely negative."<sup>8</sup> I regret it the more because it gives a handle to such an opponent as Dr. Young, who would magnify the internal at the expense of the

<sup>1</sup> Nahum i. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xxi. 19; Jer. xviii. 8; Ezek. xxiii. 20; Jonah iii. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. xx. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. v. 2; lxxiv. 12; Is. xxxiii. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. ciii. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Ps. clxvii. 19, 20; *Bampton Lectures for 1858*, pp. 151—153. 3rd edit. 1859.

<sup>7</sup> *The Christian Life*, by the Rev. A. T. Russell, p. 8. Lond. 1847, Skeffington; Camb. Deighton.

<sup>8</sup> p. 238.



external evidences of Christianity.<sup>1</sup> He, unhappily for the cause of truth, excepts to one of the most valuable and important observations in Mr. Mansel's volume: "The crying evil of the present day in religious controversy is the neglect or contempt of the external evidences of Christianity: the first step towards the establishment of a sound religious philosophy must consist in the restoration of those evidences to their true place in the theological system."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Young has taken the opportunity of his controversy with Mr. Mansel, of depreciating the value of the external evidences by endeavouring to raise the impression that unless the enquirer exhaust this vast department, he can build nothing upon it which may not be overturned. On the other hand, the most unlearned can easily be shewn and brought to comprehend the principal and most decisive of these evidences. Let Dr. Young peruse and make trial of Bishop Fitzgerald's method<sup>3</sup> of putting the external evidences before a man "of ordinary common sense and information," and he must be convinced that in his attempt at controverting the positions of Professor Mansel, he has, unconsciously at least, done much to wound the cause of Christianity, a cause which I believe he has at heart in common with Professor Mansel.<sup>4</sup>

There is in the Scriptures themselves a marvellous unfolding of external and internal evidence. They set before mankind an external evidence from first to last, the evidence of the patriarchs, kings, and prophets of the Old Testament; the evidence of apostles and evangelists, of friends and enemies, of Judas and Caiaphas and Pontius Pilate, in the New. And by the internal evidence of their own truthfulness and simplicity they bring home this body of testimony to the heart. And upon this mixed evidence, both external and internal, rests the faith of multitudes<sup>5</sup> who are daily passing through the gates of our earthly Sion into the courts of the Jerusalem that is above.

But to transform the heart the internal evidence of Holy Scripture alone avails. Its facts are embraced by many who do not read the doctrines that rest upon those facts. Dr. Young does only justice to this truly divine subject, when he writes,

<sup>1</sup> See his *Province of Reason in Religion*, p. 195. Lond. Smith and Elder, 1860.

<sup>2</sup> Mansel, p. 238; Young, p. 192. In p. 196 Dr. Young identifies the question of the Canon of Scripture with "the whole doctrine of Christ." He does Luther injustice by leaving his readers to suppose that Luther never retracted his hasty saying respecting the Epistle of St. James. The doctrine of Christ would have been entire even had the Canon both of the Old and New Testament comprised a much smaller number of books than we acknowledge. We

should not have had that doctrine so completely illustrated, but we should still have had the doctrine.

<sup>3</sup> *Aids to Faith*, pp. 70, 71.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Young's statement, "The field is almost illimitable" to be "thoroughly explored," is a palpable exaggeration. See his *Province of Reason*, p. 198. And so the dictum in p. 208, "We might afford to dispense with all the external evidences on which Mr. Mansel relies so much."

<sup>5</sup> This is exquisitely delineated in Bishop Fitzgerald's *Essay on the Evidences of Christianity*, § 17, p. 69. *Aids to Faith*.

"Let us now turn to the other side, and imagine a man who is no rational believer, but has only a dim idea that the Bible may be divine; or even a fixed conviction that it is not divine but merely human. He opens and reads, and as he reads he is brought to a sudden pause, and is irresistibly compelled to think—'God is here and I knew it not.' (I speak that which I do know; I simply record that of which I have the highest proof.) It is as if the Invisible whispered in the deepest depth of his nature, 'I have found thee, and thou mayest no more escape.' A preternatural touch goes to the quick of his soul, and it trembles. Reason within him, and conscience wake up to life and say, 'It is true, read again; it is there; it is true; it is divine.' A voice from within answers to the voice without, and the conviction is instant, irresistible,—'this is God; be sure of it; this is God.'"<sup>1</sup>

I know not whether Dr. Young had in his thoughts, when he thus wrote, the more copious and elaborate reflections of Dr. Chalmers on the manifold power of internal evidence; but the reader will find it well worth his while to meditate upon the whole of the sixth chapter on the Evidences of Christianity in the first volume of his *Institutes of Theology*.<sup>2</sup>

## XIX.

1. Professor Mansel has been coarsely charged with denying any revelation of God. Such at least, if it has any meaning, is Professor Goldwin Smith's statement in his *Rational Godliness*: "I reminded Mr. Mansel before that Revelation was the voice of God; and I asked him how we could know the voice, if the speaker was unknown."<sup>3</sup> Another opponent, whose pages throughout inflicted upon me no small disappointment from the querulous and captious spirit that pervades them, sets before his readers the sum of Professor Mansel's Lectures as relating to our knowledge of the Almighty in language such as the following, "That thing of all things which is unrevealed and incapable of being revealed is God."<sup>4</sup> And again: "We cannot trust divine Revelation, for its representations are *intentionally not true*, though not total falsehood; they teach us, indeed, the mode in which God wills that we should think of him, but we know that mode is not true, though how far it is from the truth we know not."<sup>5</sup>

Does Dr. Young complain that Mr. Mansel has taught that we shall look into the Scriptures in vain for a holy, just, merciful, wise, and good God?<sup>6</sup> Will he affirm that Mr. Mansel

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Young's *Province of Reason in Religion*, p. 202. I designedly omit the sequel, which is too vague and rhapsodical to admit of any clear interpretation. The passage will remind the reader of St. Augustine's account of his conversion in his *Confessions*.

<sup>2</sup> The chapter is entitled *On the Moral*

*and Experimental Evidences for the Truth of Christianity*.

<sup>3</sup> p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Young's *Province of Reason in Religion*, p. 230.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 230, 231.

<sup>6</sup> *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 127, 128.

has not pointed out in these Scriptures a way of salvation open to all, and founded upon the all-powerful merits of one who is both God and man?<sup>1</sup> The noble passages which I have already produced from the Bampton Lectures will surely more than suffice to vindicate Mr. Mansel from such imputations. His fourth Lecture appears to me to imply such an inward revelation of the Almighty to all his rational creatures as amounts to intuition. He there teaches that God is known as a person through the consciousness of ourselves as persons.<sup>2</sup> Whether the view which is given of God be so complete as that which may be found in Revelation, is a separate question. I fear that the fault of very much of our modern, our existing theology is, that it falls short of Revelation. But setting aside this enquiry in this place, I feel bound to assert my conviction that Professor Mansel has been treated with the greatest injustice by those who have stigmatized his teaching in the spirit of Professors Stanley and Smith, and Dr. Young.

Mr. Mansel has ably and irrefutably refuted the pretensions of the unbeliever to sit in judgment upon the morality of the Divine government. He has asserted the righteousness of the Creator as the God both of the Old and New Testament. He has maintained the essential truth, that the moral nature of man is not a perfect standard of the divine attributes, for this in fact is what we mean when we speak of the moral nature of God. Many theologians, to subserve the interests of semi-Pelagianism, do indeed bring down the Almighty to a level with his creatures. We have only to take up almost any modern commentary to be convinced of this. But not so the Apostle of the Gentiles. He would not descend into the arena with those disputants who claimed to call their Creator to the bar of their reason. *Nay, but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?* (Rom. ix. 20.) Mr. Mansel's great principle accords with this; it is expressed in the analysis of his first Lecture, "The proper object of criticism is not religion, but the human mind in its relation to religion." A sufficient foundation is laid for this axiom in another, "*We can adequately criticise that only which we know as a whole.*"<sup>3</sup> But who can so know the counsels or the nature of his Creator?

Whether Professor Mansel, were he to apply in detail to the whole of the Scriptures his principle that all our knowledge is regulative and not speculative, would satisfy my ideas of the extent of that knowledge which the Scriptures open to us, is, I think, doubtful. But if he simply means that whatsoever knowledge is opened to us in Revelation, whatsoever may be its nature and within whatsoever limits it may be circumscribed, is given us with the one view of guiding us to our heavenly

<sup>1</sup> *Bampton Lectures*, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 108, pp. 124—126.

<sup>3</sup> *Lect. i.* p. 23.

home and of preparing us for the service of our Creator here, and for his presence hereafter; who, I would ask, can dissent from him? For what other purposes can we suppose a Revelation to have been given? Why should exception be taken to such a limitation? The Socinian indeed requires more, but with what view and by what right? Faith is demanded of us as a part of our duty, an implicit resignation of our hearts and minds into the hands of God. *He that believeth—shall be saved.*<sup>1</sup>

2. Abraham is the pattern of believers; so he is called their father.<sup>2</sup> His faith they are to imitate. He did not wait to clear up this and that doubt before he obeyed the command to sacrifice his son, his only son, Isaac. With him obedience was the highest reason. He was assured that the command was from above, and it was enough. He knew that the Almighty could not cease to be holy. And the same spirit in a truly humble mind will not suffer it to arraign this and that record of the Divine proceedings which it finds in the pages of Scripture. The Christian when tempted to do so calls to mind the words of the Apostle, *Nay, but, O man, who art thou that repliest against God?* He sees mysteries in the ways of God: he waits for another life to clear them up. He cannot account for the origin of evil, but he is assured that it did not force its way into the world to the surprise of an astonished Deity. This anthropomorphism is, I suspect, the too general creed.<sup>3</sup> But the intelligent believer neither evades nor explains the fact—some would say the difficulty. If it is a difficulty, it is also a fact. *The Lord hath made all things for himself; yea, even the wicked for the day of evil.* Prov. 16. 4.<sup>4</sup> These words comprise the origin of all the evil that is in the universe. There is nothing which is not of divine ordination. Is there a practical lesson to be inferred from such a truth? There is; that we acknowledge the hand of God in all events, and that we confess his holiness and goodness where we shall be able to trace it perfectly only in eternity. This is the philosophy of revelation. We have only to look around us to be convinced of its truth, and to feel that it is not for us to measure the attributes and ways of God by the standard of his law as it has relation only to ourselves and as it is found written in our hearts. What befits

<sup>1</sup> Mark xvi. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. iv. 11, 12.

<sup>3</sup> Not so St. Augustine "Quam (universitatem) Deus effector conditorque ejus justo moderamine administrare non cessat, qui omnia bona facit voluntate, nihil mali patitur necessitate. Cujus enim voluntas superat omnia, nulla ex parte quicquam sentit invitus." *De Genesi contra Manichæos*, l. 2, c. 29, p. 1190, tom. i. Lugd. 1563.

<sup>4</sup> Luther's version is "for his own purpose." *Um seiner Absicht willen.* On

the futility of the various attempts at explaining the origin of evil, see Dr. Milner's admirable *Essay on Human Liberty*. From p. 108 to p. 113 Dr. Milner gives those theories, and from p. 118 to p. 123 shews their futility. This very remarkable production was published after the author's death by Cadell, London, 1824, with a preface by the present Bishop of Ely. The whole is in harmony with the observations I have laid before my readers in this and in the subsequent sections of my Letter.

the eternal Ruler is one thing; what is our duty to him and to one another is another. He who would, with Mr. Goldwin Smith and all the hosts that have defied their Creator from the beginning of the world, declaim against this truth, declaims as evidently against the light of nature as against the light of revelation. Whether the absolute morality of God<sup>1</sup> be a felicitous or infelicitous expression, it conveys a truth from which there is no escaping, a truth in perfect consistency with the general mysteriousness that involves our knowledge of the Almighty; a truth that is echoed by universal experience. The Divine government passes before all eyes, and is alike mysterious to all.

## XX.

1. Unused, with probably the majority of his readers, to metaphysical disquisitions, and unversed, save very partially, in metaphysical literature, I cannot but participate in the regret that has been so frequently expressed, at the line of argument which Professor Mansel has taken in connection with the philosophy of the absolute and the infinite. His reasoning is apparently indisputable, if the truth of the philosophy with respect to which he reasons be assumed. But such a philosophy is not really applicable to the subject of the Divine nature. It does not hold true in respect of it; it is a pure fiction, and as such it is confuted by Professor Mansel. Were it a truth it could not lead to contradictions. Reason cannot admit it in any sense, or it could not on any evidence rest upon those proofs from which it undoubtedly infers the being and attributes of God. Had such a philosophy been the genuine product of reason, it would not have waited until the present generation for its developement. Were it reasonable in itself it would command universal assent in its own proper sphere.

The terms *the absolute* and *the infinite* are confessedly not theological terms. Neither can the idea comprised in either, as used by Professor Mansel, be maintained by an appeal to theology. Theology has, without such an application of them as is made in the Bampton Lectures, survived the impieties of Spinoza and refuted them.<sup>2</sup>

The philosophical notion of an absolute which "cannot be conceived as conscious"<sup>3</sup> is at once an indication that it is a fiction as applied to the Divine Being.

So the application of the term *infinite*, as containing in itself, in conjunction with the absolute, the sum of all reality, is a sufficient indication of the untruthfulness of the idea. If the

<sup>1</sup> Mansel's *Lectures*, p. 206. Dr. Young (pp. 261—263) objects to the terms "divine morality," "absolute morality of God," "infinite morality."

<sup>2</sup> See Stapfer's *Institutiones Theologicæ Polemicæ Universæ*, vols. ii. and iv. Tiguri, 1743—1747.

<sup>3</sup> *Lectures*, p. 50.



divine infinity be not liable to the metaphysical difficulties which are inherent in *the infinite* as pictured in the thoughts of metaphysicians, such representations must needs be logical abstractions which have no foundation in nature, no foundation in the truth of things. Reason refuses to be bound by such chains. Theology knows nothing of them. When theologians speak of the Infinite Being they intend the same as the inconceivable, a Being who cannot be bounded by human thought, a nature that in itself must, as Professor Mansel justly insists, ever remain a mystery, a thing unknowable. It was undoubtedly not the object of revelation so to reveal God. Dr. Young and a thousand other objectors may attempt to bring into ridicule the idea of a revelation not revealing God. But it is uncandid and absurd here to blame Professor Mansel for that which revelation itself declares. Manifoldly true are the words of the prophet, *Verily thou art a God that hidest thyself*.<sup>1</sup> Seek we to look into his nature or into his attributes? There is a something ever lying beyond all that we can discover either in his works or in his ways. He is to us unbounded. He is illimitable in regard of human faculties. This is the true infinity of God. Those who apply the term in a material sense to his spiritual essence, which metaphysicians appear to do, cannot but fall into gross errors. But their deductions are not those of reason. Reason in the right exercise of her power is never unreasonable. As well might we admit that the sound eye could see double.

*Infinite* and *infinity* have indeed been variously used by theologians. When the Almighty is called infinite, whether by Romish or Protestant divines, he is so called as being unlimited in all perfections.<sup>2</sup> So Louis Abelly, Bishop and Count of Rhodes, illustrates the Divine infinity by Ps. 145. 3, *his greatness is unsearchable*, where Augustine paraphrases the words by "*Illius magnitudo sine fine est*,"<sup>3</sup> and says, "*Deum totum capere non possumus*," "*We cannot comprehend God completely*," or "*in all his fulness*." And again, "*Illius immensa bonitas et interminabilis magnitudo*," "*His infinite goodness and boundless greatness*." And so our first Article, "*Of infinite (immensæ) power, wisdom, and goodness*." Beveridge explains *infinite* of the Divine attributes as implying the perfection of each in consistency with one another.<sup>4</sup> The learned Dr. Antony Thysius uses infinity as expressing eternity and immensity.<sup>5</sup> And so Bishop Butler, "*We find within ourselves the idea of infinity, i. e. immensity and eternity, impossible even in imagination to be removed out of being*."<sup>6</sup> Would Butler

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xlv. 15.

<sup>2</sup> So Louis Abelly's *Medulla Theologica De Deo*, § 7, p. 68, tom. i. 1659. Seiler's *Theologia Dogmatico-Polemica*, p. 76. Erlangen 1780. Stapfer, tom. i. p. 139.

<sup>3</sup> tom. viii. p. 957. Lugd.

<sup>4</sup> p. 84.

<sup>5</sup> § 23, p. 69. *Synopsis Theologiae*, 1625.

<sup>6</sup> *Analogy*, p. 157. 4th edit. 1750.

have admitted that any absurdities followed from the conception of an infinite being? Would he have applied the term infinite to a mental attribute as it is applied in the reasoning in page 51 of the Lectures? "A mental attribute, to be conceived as infinite, must be in actual exercise on every possible object." Such an idea is not necessary to the mind, and naturally finds no place in it. It is unnecessary to the perfection of the Divine attributes. Dismiss these metaphysical illusions of the absolute and the infinite, and reason is no longer chargeable with their existence. The difficulties that arise out of them cannot be justly attributed to her. We can no longer admit that our conception of personality involves attributes apparently contradictory to the notion of infinity,<sup>1</sup> for the so-called philosophical doctrine of infinity is no part of our reason.

2. In his fourth Lecture Professor Mansel proves indirectly, yet clearly, that reason itself forces upon us the conviction that there is a God. He affirms that this idea is a part of our nature, apart from and before any exercise of reason, and so he derives the belief of a God, in the first instance, not from reason but from the universal consciousness, the "religious consciousness" of our nature.<sup>2</sup> But when he comes to answer the objections that might be raised from our alleged incompetency to form a consistent idea of God as the Absolute and the Infinite, he accepts the alternative of building up a belief in God in the rational necessity of the case. He shews that reason demands our belief in the incomprehensible and infinite Creator. "We know that unless we admit the existence of the Infinite, the existence of the finite is inexplicable and self-contradictory."<sup>3</sup> What is this but reason establishing a belief in God? What follows indeed a few pages after, is equally certain. "The religious sentiment, which compels men to believe in and worship a Supreme Being, is an evidence of his existence, but not an exhibition of his nature. It proves *that* God is, and makes known some of his relations to us; but it does not prove *what* God is in his own absolute being."<sup>4</sup> But he has granted more than this, that reason shuts us up to our belief in an Infinite Creator. He has indeed, in a previous part of his argument, condemned Kant as exceeding the bounds of rational philosophy, in saying "that we cannot legitimately infer from the order and design visible in the world, the omnipotence and omniscience of its Creator, because a degree of power and wisdom short of the very highest might possibly be sufficient to produce all the effects which we are able to discern."<sup>5</sup>

And here I must acknowledge my regret that Professor Mansel does not appear to have done justice to the powers of

<sup>1</sup> *Lectures*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 108.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 120.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 122.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 103.

the human mind as regards the investigation of divine things, in his fourth Lecture. The religious sentiment undoubtedly went, from the first, hand in hand with the convictions of reason. Mankind, we know, were not left at first to discover a religion for themselves. Adam had his Creator for his teacher, and from the first his reason and his piety were united in all the acts of worship and homage which he paid to the Almighty in Paradise. But when mankind had forsaken God, did not reason still continue to condemn idolatry, and to point to a just and holy Creator? Does it not still assure its possessor of the first truths of religion, the alphabet of theology? We shall do a great disservice to Revelation, if we withhold the clear evidence of nature and reason to the God of nature. The Pantheist and the Atheist are guilty of offending not only against the light of Revelation, but against the light that is within them. Their sin is not simply that they misapply their reason by building up visionary philosophies of the absolute and the infinite, but that they banish reason altogether when they hide themselves from God manifested in his works. Reason is sufficient to prove that it is the fool and the fool only who hath said in his heart that there is no God.

In order to supplement the remarks of Professor Mansel on the "province of Reason in Religion," it is with unwearied admiration of their beauties that I transcribe the following from the late Bishop of Lincoln's invaluable work, *The Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries illustrated from the writings of Tertullian*.

"In the short preface to the Tract<sup>1</sup> of which we have been speaking, Tertullian assigns the cause of his frequent recurrence to this mode of reasoning. To press the enemies of the Gospel with arguments drawn from profane literature, was, he says, useless; though they allowed the premises, they were always ready with some pretext for evading the legitimate conclusion. To bring forward arguments founded on Scripture was still more unavailing; they did not admit its authority. How then were they to be convinced, or at least silenced? By an appeal to the testimony borne to the existence of one supreme God, by the natural voice of Conscience and by the works of Creation. To this testimony, therefore, Tertullian appeals: and in thus appealing, far from thinking that he could be accused of pursuing a course derogatory to the honour, or injurious to the interests of the Gospel, he conceived that he was offering the strongest evidence in confirmation of its truth; by shewing that the revelation, which God has been pleased to make of himself, in his visible works and in the soul of man, is in perfect harmony with that contained in his written word.

"But though approved, as we have seen, by Milner,<sup>2</sup> Ter-

<sup>1</sup> *De Testimonio Animæ.*

<sup>2</sup> In his *History of the Church*.

tullian's reasoning will be far, we suspect, from commanding universal assent in the present day. Since the publication of Dr. Ellis's work, entitled *The Knowledge of Divine things from Revelation*, it has become the fashion with many to treat, not merely as vain and idle, but even as presumptuous and almost impious, every attempt to prove the existence and attributes of God from the visible works of Creation, or from the internal constitution of man. 'Unless,' we are told, 'the idea of a God had in the first instance been communicated to the mind; unless God had himself taught it to our first parents, and it had thus been transmitted through succeeding generations; no contemplation of the works of creation,—no induction from the phenomena of the natural and moral world, could ever have enabled mankind to discover even his existence. But as soon as we are taught that there is a Creator necessarily existent and of infinite perfection, our understandings readily admit the idea of such a Being; and we find in the natural world innumerable testimonies to the truth of the doctrine.'

"Now we are ready to grant, that man never *did* by reasoning *a posteriori* discover the existence of God; or in Warburton's<sup>1</sup> words, that 'all religious knowledge of the Deity and of man's relation to him was revealed, and had descended traditionally down (though broken and disjointed in so long a passage) from the first man.' Still this concession does not, in our estimation, affect the only important part of the question; which is not, whether man ever did, *without previous intimation of a Supreme Being*, reason from the works of Creation to the existence of a Creator; but whether, if he had so reasoned, he would have reasoned correctly.

"When, however, it is affirmed that man not only never *did*, but never *could* so have reasoned, we must be permitted to examine the arguments by which the assertion is supported. Why then could not man discover the existence of God from the contemplation of the works of Creation, &c.? 'Because,' it is said, 'between matter and spirit, things visible and invisible, time and eternity, beings finite and beings infinite, objects of sense and objects of faith, the connexion is not perceptible to human observation.' And we are, therefore, to conclude that, unless we had been taught that there *is* a spiritual, invisible, eternal, infinite Being, we never could have arrived at the knowledge of that Being. Yet the same writers contend that the fact is no sooner proposed, than it commands the assent of the understanding. What then are the grounds on which that assent is given? The mere statement cannot alone be sufficient to produce conviction. The truth is, that the understanding assents, because the fact proposed agrees with our previous ob-

<sup>1</sup> "*Doctrine of Grace*, b. 3, c. 2. Warburton is speaking in the person of an opponent of Natural Religion."

servations—with the previous deductions of reason. Reason tells us that there are in the nature of man faculties for the existence of which we cannot account by any modification of matter known to us—thought, memory, invention, judgment. Reason tells us that no bounds can be set to time or space—hence we are led to admit the existence of a spiritual, eternal, infinite Being. The reasoning is equally valid, whether we apply it in confirmation of a fact which has been revealed to us, or without any previous revelation infer that fact from it. The latter is, doubtless, by far the more difficult operation: but we are now speaking only of its possibility or impossibility. The<sup>1</sup> same series of proofs by which we establish a known truth, might surely have conducted us to the knowledge of that truth.

“Let us suppose a sceptic to ask why we believe the existence of God: what must be our reply? According to the writers whose opinions we are now considering, ‘this truth was originally made known by revelation.’ But if the sceptic proceed to deny, as he probably would, the authority of the revelation, by what arguments must we endeavour to convince him? The answer is, ‘We must necessarily refer him to those testimonies, which the natural and moral phenomena of the world abundantly supply, of a Creator, all-wise, powerful, good.’ It is admitted then by the very answer that those testimonies are sufficient to prove to the sceptic the existence of God; and is not this in fact to give up the point in dispute?

“Perhaps, however, there may be some who will foresee this inevitable consequence of referring the sceptic to testimonies drawn from the natural and moral world; and will answer, ‘We can prove the authority of the revelation by historical investigation. We possess certain records, the genuineness of which we have ascertained; these declare that at a certain time a revelation was made from Heaven; and that the person who was sent to make it, attested the truth of his mission by miracles.’ Perhaps the sceptic will reply, that no human testimony can establish the credit of a miracle. How is this objection to be answered but by a reference to the natural world? By shewing that what we call the course of nature, from which a miracle is said to be a deviation, is in fact only a system appointed by the God of nature; and consequently liable to be suspended or altered according to his pleasure? Or perhaps the sceptic may say, that pretensions to miraculous powers have abounded in all ages; and that, as such pretensions have in the majority of instances been shewn to be false, we may reasonably conclude that they were so in all. To meet this objection, we must refer to the

<sup>1</sup> “To borrow an illustration from science. For how long a period were the ablest mathematicians employed in endeavouring to effect the passage from finite to infinite, or from discrete to continuous, in geometry? The discovery was at length made, and therefore was at all times possible.”



criteria of miracles, which are all deductions of human reason; and shew that the purposes, for which the miraculous powers are said to have been exerted, were consonant to just conceptions of the Divine Nature and Attributes: and *those conceptions derived from sources extraneous and independant of the Revelation itself.* For we must not, in the first instance, say, that we obtain the knowledge of the nature and attributes of God from a revelation, and then prove the truth of that revelation by a reference to the knowledge so obtained.

"But is not this, it will be asked, to constitute human reason the judge of the Divine dispensations? Is it not to say that man, blind and ignorant man, can certainly determine what ought and what ought not to proceed from God? By no means. It is only to compare one set of facts with another; to compare the conceptions of the Divine nature, which we derive from the perusal of the Bible, with those which we derive from the contemplation of the phenomena of the natural and moral world. If the written word and the visible world both proceed from the same Author, they cannot but agree in the testimony which they bear to his character and attributes.

"Men, it is true, have not unfrequently been induced by the love of paradox, by the desire of obtaining a reputation for superior talent and acuteness, or by other motives of a similar description, to assert the all-sufficiency of human reason, and to deny the necessity of a revelation. Hence many good and pious Christians have run into the opposite extreme, and been disposed to regard all, who have recourse to reason and the light of nature in the investigation of religious truth, as little better than infidels, puffed up with a presumptuous conceit of their own knowledge, and sitting in judgment on the fitness of the Divine procedure. Yet what just ground is there for these heavy accusations? Is not reason the gift of God? Does not the light of nature emanate from the Author of nature? from Him who is the fountain of light? In what then consists the presumption of endeavouring to trace the Divine character and operations, by means of that light which God has himself supplied? The knowledge of divine things, which we acquire by the proper exercise of our various faculties on the phenomena of the visible world, is as strictly the gift of God, as that which we derive from the perusal of his revealed word."<sup>1</sup>

We may conclude from the preceding observations, that by the powers of our reason and by the light of nature are discoverable the being and perfections of God both as the Creator and Governor of the world. It would be absurd to imagine that he who had created so glorious an universe, should exercise no control over it and take no pleasure in it. It would be absurd to imagine that he had given his creatures a nature that cannot

be satisfied with mere earthly good, a nature that can find perfect happiness only in himself, merely to be the sport of chance and fortune, and to sink after a few years into nothingness. It would be absurd to imagine that he had planted in that nature a law, that he had set up in the heart conscience<sup>1</sup> as in some sense and degree his own representative, and yet had not resolved to give effect to its decisions and to consummate the ends of our creation so imperfectly entered here; to consummate those ends in another state of existence. The mind is by reason also taught its own spiritual nature and capacities, and to look forward to immortality. And what if universal experience prove that man is unworthy of his Creator's bounty? Yet it is evident that, notwithstanding all his ingratitude and unworthiness, this beautiful world was prepared for his habitation. He may not therefore turn away from the belief in a superintending providence on the ground of his meanness and guilt. Has the Almighty so watched over his temporal wants and that body by which he is united to earth? shall he not much more (it is the voice of reason and nature) have regard to his moral need? shall he not much more watch over his spirit by which he is allied to eternity?<sup>2</sup> So Natural Religion prepares the heart for God's best and greatest gift, the gift of revelation and of that way of redemption and salvation which nature never could have conceived and which reason can never fully comprehend.

3. When indeed we say that the being and perfections or attributes of God are discoverable by nature, we do not mean that the light of nature can reveal to us the Divine essence, or unfold to us but partially and dimly his glorious attributes. We can see indications of his goodness, justice, and holiness.<sup>3</sup> But we cannot frame to ourselves a perfect image of any of his perfections. Most true it is that we can in respect of his eternity and spirituality rather say what he is not than what he is. If our own nature, as far as it still retains some traces of its likeness to himself, can in some measure enable us to conceive truly of him, we cannot regard him as God but by rising above the contemplation of ourselves. Then do we learn most humbly to worship and most deeply to venerate him, when we compare our nothingness to his greatness, our weakness to his power, our sinfulness to his spotless holiness. It is in proportion as this feeling is wanting that religion is itself lowered amongst even those who sincerely profess it. When, as in the period of the Reformation,

<sup>1</sup> "This theology of conscience has done more to uphold a sense of God in the world than all the theology of academic demonstration." Dr. Chalmers' *Institutes of Theology*, vol. i. c. 2, p. 103. And see p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> See Bp. Sherlock's most admirable *Sermon on Psalm viii. 4, What is man*

*that thou art mindful of him, and the son of man that thou visitest him?* Disc. 11, vol. i. Lond. 2nd edit. 1754.

<sup>3</sup> For a comparison of Natural and Revealed Religion and their distinctive office, see Joh. Fred. Stapferi *Institt. Theol. Polem.* tom. ii. Tiguri, 1744, pp. 924—929.

Man was regarded as nothing by the side of his Creator, and God was thought of as all in all, then did the world behold a depth and reality of character, a vitality in Christianity such as it has never witnessed since, save individually. Then our fathers bore a *collective* testimony to the truth of the gospel such as our age may peradventure boast, but such as it, alas, fails to verify. The theology<sup>1</sup> of that day, as it embraced truths but too generally lost sight of in ours, knew more of God, and so knew more clearly the greatness of its ignorance. It in truth regarded him more as God, less by the measure of our own finite nature. It was content to know but in part, and it was rewarded with a greater love and zeal.

And much more might we expect that, if Revelation only discover to us our ignorance more fully in proportion to the very increase of light with which it illuminates our path, we should rise but to dim and partial conceptions of the Divine nature and perfections by the light of nature.

4. Only happy are those who, by accepting the guidance of revelation, are blest with the assurance that ere long it shall be far otherwise with them. Nature cannot assure them of that prospect which Christianity opens to our eyes and writes upon our hearts: *Now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be: but we know that when he shall appear, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is.* (1 Joh. iii. 2.) "In our present state we are conversant only with effects; and even of these we possess but an imperfect knowledge. We discern the results of power and wisdom and goodness; and these results afford us all the proof, which the case admits, of the existence of those attributes in the Supreme Being: but when we shall attain to that intimate perception of his presence which is implied in the expressions *seeing him as he is*, and *knowing him as we are known*, the attributes themselves may be conceived to become the immediate objects of our contemplation, and that contemplation to form the principal source of our enjoyment."<sup>2</sup>

## XXI.

1. My Lord, the question raised by the *Essays and Reviews* in conjunction with their advocate Professor Stanley, is whether the Church of England shall or shall not remain a Christian Church. The design of Professor Stanley is to change that Church into an establishment of sceptical disputation, a school of academics under the cover of Christianity. Every clergyman

<sup>1</sup> That theology has been nowhere perhaps so lucidly unfolded as throughout that storehouse of theological learning, Dean Field's *Book of the Church*. Observe especially the two opening chapters.

<sup>2</sup> *Sermons and Addresses*, by John Kaye, D.D., late Bishop of Lincoln, edited by his Son. Lond. Rivingtons, 1856, p. 282. And see the sequel.

is, under this new system, to start with his own theory of religion. He is to be a discoverer of truth, and is to have no creed to bind him to this or that view of it. He may be one of those to whom the resurrection of our Lord and all the miracles of the Scriptures are so many stumbling-blocks.<sup>1</sup> What an extent of liberty Professor Stanley desires, is obvious from his attacks upon all who charge upon Professor Jowett as an offence against clerical integrity and Christian truth, his open and avowed attack upon the doctrine of Redemption as maintained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, in the Church in all ages, and in all the formularies of the Church of England. What is the scope of the following passionate outburst of Dr. Stanley: "The Christian minister, it is said, has parted with his natural liberty. It is almost openly avowed (and we are sorry to see this tendency as much amongst free-thinking laymen as amongst *fanatical* clergymen) that truth was made for the laity and falsehood for the clergy—that truth is *tolerable everywhere except in the mouths of the ministers of the God of truth*." My Lord, the God of truth has spoken; but his clergy, it seems, are to be at liberty to assail his Word from the first chapter of Genesis to the end of the New Testament as a record of the fallible speculations of the Redeemer and his Apostles! This is the liberty which is so passionately advocated. The Son of God gave forth, in the 25th chapter of St. Matthew, the grounds upon which he will one day judge the world. Professor Jowett affirms that those grounds are inapplicable to millions of professing Christians. But is Professor Jowett to be censured for thus setting aside the word of the only Saviour and his future Judge? It is an ill omen for our Christianity as a nation, that Professor Jowett should, after this and similar impieties, have been suffered, year after year, to retain his place in a Christian University and in a Christian Church. It is a sign that we have, as a nation, ceased to feel it our duty to guard the honour due to his Word, who has elevated us to our high position as a nation.

We may not wonder at the announcement of Professor Stanley, the advocate of Mr. Wilson with his eclectic, I will not say Christianity, but philosophy, (and that is a too flattering word for the occasion): "We do not indeed deny, we fully believe, that the whole state of subscription to the formularies of the Church, as now maintained, is fraught with evil."

So we live in an age in which Canons, Articles, Liturgy, and Scripture must all be moulded anew to please the varying tastes of the present generation. To such progress a consistent dissent is but the expression of dutiful attachment to the noblest form of Christianity in the world. I am one of thousands who feel myself under no sort of bondage in yielding an unfeigned

<sup>1</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* 1861, p. 487, April.

assent to all our formularies. I am not one of those who despise the Articles in comparison of the Liturgy. I am not one of those who set the Articles against the Liturgy, and desire to bring down the latter to the level of popular ignorance. I am in the Church of England not as a minister of a *sect within the Church*, but as a minister of the Church regarded as a whole, with interests that should be dear alike to all her clergy and to all her laity. Some there are who have for years shewn but little regard to the interests of the Church as a Church. Their feelings are sectarian; they are dissatisfied, some because her system is too far removed from Rome to meet their views, others because they borrow all their knowledge from the present age, and have not condescended to look either into primitive antiquity or into the earlier theology of the Church of England.

2. I think that after the publication of the *Aids to Faith*, the *Replies to Essays and Reviews*, and various other works that have appeared since Professor Stanley's defence of that volume, he would not probably repeat his assertion in the *Edinburgh Review*, "In spite of all the declamations on the subject, no passage has ever yet been pointed out in any of the five clerical Essayists, which contradicts any of the formularies of the Church in a degree at all comparable to the direct collision which exists between the High Church party and the Articles, between the Low Church party and the Prayer-book."<sup>1</sup> What says Dr. Temple of the *Creeeds*, of which the eighth Article affirms that "they ought thoroughly to be received and believed, for they may be proved by most certain warrants of Holy Scripture?" "We can acknowledge the great value of the forms in which the first ages of the Church defined the truth, and yet refuse to be bound by them; we can use them, and yet endeavour to go beyond them, just as they also went beyond the legacy which was left us by the Apostles."<sup>2</sup> Dr. Temple professes himself ready to use that by which he will not be bound, and attempts to justify himself by the pattern of the Primitive Church. But if these forms are true, why should he refuse to be bound by them? and if he ministers in the Church of England, who has unbound him from his adhesion to "the forms in which the first ages of the Church defined the truth?" Which, either of the High or of any other party in the Church, ever published to the world that he for his part would not be bound by those forms?

Which of these parties (the so-called High and Low; I regret the use of such terms), or what individual of them, ever, in the face of the 6th Article, rejected the second Epistle of St. Peter from the Canon of Scripture, as Dr. Williams, following the late Chevalier Bunsen, has not scrupled to do?<sup>3</sup> Which of

<sup>1</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* p. 491.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 84.



these parties, or what individual amongst them, has ever rejected the creation as a proof of the power and being of God, with the late Professor Powell? Who of them has written against both the Old and New Testament as did that unhappy person in his *Christianity without Judaism*? Who besides Mr. Wilson has maintained that all the historical portions of the New Testament may be idealized? Is this compatible with Christian faith? Is this compatible with the Apostles' Creed? Who besides the Rector of Lincoln College has laboured to throw doubts upon all the external evidences of Christianity, amongst which must be reckoned the veracity of the Apostles and the truth of the Resurrection? Who of them has denied that the Atonement ever was the central point of the Christian system?<sup>1</sup> I regret indeed that some have unthinkingly spoken as though the incarnation and not the sacrifice of Christ was the point to which all truth converged. Yet I believe, were these questioned, they would admit that for this the Son of God was made man, that by his death he might become the Saviour of the world. I have already shewn that Professor Stanley himself does not realise, does not admit into his preaching the teaching of our Lord upon this, the confessedly central point of Christianity; *As Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness, even so must the Son of Man be lifted up, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have eternal life.* John 3. 14, 15. Who that hears Professor Stanley's preaching would conclude that eternal life was suspended upon faith in Christ crucified? He himself has declared that the Centurion was saved without any such faith. "Our Lord's morality," says Professor Stanley, "was his religion."<sup>2</sup> Very different is Professor Stanley's idea of the Gospel from that of the great Augustine: "The Gospel," says St. Augustine, "is the annunciation of a Saviour."<sup>3</sup> What *Christian* divine ever excepted from the Catholic faith that "the death of Christ was necessary to satisfy the Divine justice?"<sup>4</sup> And to return to Professor Jowett: how upon his denial of the doctrine of Inspiration, how upon his views of Inspiration, can he rationally refer to the Scriptures for the *proof* of anything that he believes? And is this consistent with the 6th, 7th, and 8th Articles? How can we expect to learn what is Christianity if it be true that the first teachers of Christianity had a separate and individual mode of regarding the Gospel of Christ?<sup>5</sup> Had it been so, might not the Galatians have laughed to scorn the anathema of the Apostle, *Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have*

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Pattison this is a peculiarity of "the Evangelical School."

<sup>2</sup> *Sermons on the Unity of Evangelical and Apostolical Teaching*, p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Contra Faustum Manichæum*, l. 2, c. 2, p. 266, tom. vi. Lugd. 1562.

<sup>4</sup> "With Mr. Pattison this also is a peculiarity, a modern conception of the Evangelical School." *Essays and Reviews*, p. 260.

<sup>5</sup> p. 426.

*preached unto you, let him be accursed?*<sup>1</sup> Is it or is it not agreeable to the very first Article of our Church, taken in connection with the 6th and 8th, to affirm with Professor Jowett that St. Paul does not speak of the Son of God as equal to the Father?<sup>2</sup>

3. But Professor Stanley hopes to shield all his clients under the plea that "there is no article on Inspiration."<sup>3</sup> Can he deny that the 6th Article presupposes its inspiration in the very term *Holy Scripture*? and in the very circumstance that it is the *rule of faith*? If its doctrines were the result of mere theological genius and research, if its authors were inspired only as we speak of the inspiration of Milton or Dante, wherefore should we resort to it to learn what is "requisite or necessary to salvation?"<sup>4</sup> This carping at a word, is it worthy of one who has nothing to conceal? But alas, this is not all; in addition to this uncandid evasion, for it is nothing better, Professor Stanley affirms, that the Article asserts of Scripture itself no more than all the English Essayists and all the German theologians have gladly claimed for it.<sup>5</sup> Was this written for the readers of the *Essays* generally, or only for those who trouble themselves with theological subjects, only by second-hand information to qualify themselves to give an opinion amongst the enlightened admirers of a pseudo liberality?

4. Professor Stanley would except to *all* the books of the New Testament being regarded as Canonical. He quotes Mr. Westcott for a looser application of the term to the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Second Epistle of St. Peter. Did then the Church ever doubt respecting these books? Some members of the church did, but the church as a whole did not, and this is more probably the scope of the words in the 6th Article, "In the name of the Holy Scripture we do understand those canonical books of the Old and New Testament, of whose authority was never any doubts in the Church."

It is not denied that some in the Church, or that for a time some whole churches, doubted respecting certain portions of the New Testament, or through ignorance did not receive them. These portions were:

The Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews.

The Epistle of St. James.

The Epistle of St. Jude.

The Second Epistle of St. Peter.

The Second and Third Epistles of St. John.

The Book of Revelation.

That the Epistle to the Hebrews was generally received amongst Christians as the work of St. Paul is admitted by

<sup>1</sup> Gal. i. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 354.

<sup>3</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* April 1861, p. 491.

<sup>4</sup> Art. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* April 1861, pp. 491, 492.

Origen himself, who did not dispute this fact. Only he doubted its authorship from the alleged dissimilarity of the style of this compared with the other Epistles. Eusebius alleges in its favour the testimony of Clemens Alexandrinus and of his master Pantænus, who taught at Alexandria about A.D. 185. Notwithstanding his doubts respecting the authorship of the Epistle, Origen, says Bishop Kaye, attached great weight to the tradition which ascribed it to the Apostle.<sup>1</sup> With respect to the rejection of this Epistle by the Church of Rome, it is certain, from the quotations in the Epistle of Clemens Romanus, that it was received by them in his days.<sup>2</sup> Nothing can exceed the rashness of many Christians at a later period in the department of sacred criticism. Hence the temporary rejection of this Epistle on the ground of chap. 10, vv. 26, 27, and chap. 12, ver. 17. On the strength of these and some few other passages, Luther expressed himself doubtingly upon this book.<sup>3</sup> We see then, that on the whole Christian antiquity is clearly in favour of this Epistle, and of its having St. Paul for its author.

It is admitted by Michaelis that the Syrian Church from the very first, constantly received the Epistle of St. James.<sup>4</sup> It was acknowledged by Origen. It was owned by Cyril of Jerusalem, Athanasius, and Gregory of Nazianzum in the fourth century, and sanctioned by the Council of Laodicea, A.D. 364, "which," says Bishop Cosin, "was a Council held in such reverence and estimation by all men in those elder ages following, that the Canons of it were generally received into the code of the Universal Church."<sup>5</sup>

Of the Second Epistle of St. Peter I have already treated in the tenth section of this Letter.

The Council of Laodicea, A.D. 364, received the same canon with ourselves, both of the Old and New Testament, and this may suffice without enumerating the ample testimonies to the smaller Epistles of St. John and St. Jude.

The Book of Revelation was generally received both in the East and in the West from the second century. Dionysius of Alexandria doubted concerning it, but was, from this circumstance, extremely cautious in expressing his own bias.

What then were the books which the framers of our Articles had in view when they pointed at some the authority of which had been doubted in the Church? They were "*the other books*," which are specified in the Article after the catalogue of the

<sup>1</sup> *Some Account of the External Government and Discipline of the Church of Christ during the first Three Centuries*, by John Kaye, D.D., late Lord Bishop of Lincoln. Lond. Rivingtons, 1855, p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> See Jacobson's *Patres Apostolici*, tom. i. p. 126. Oxon. 1838.

<sup>3</sup> *Justi Wesseli Rumpæi Commentatio*

*Critica ad Libros Nov. Test.* ed. 2da. Lipsiæ 1757, p. 219.

<sup>4</sup> See his *Introduction to the N. T.* vol. iv. c. 26, § 8, pp. 310, 311. 2nd edit. 1802.

<sup>5</sup> *Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture*, p. 55. Lond. 1683.

Canonical books. If it be not so, to what does the designation "*the other books*" refer?

5. To return to the subject of subscription. Dr. Stanley would leave the impression upon his readers, that there is no one individual who abides by the formularies of the Church consistently and without exception: what else is the intention of the following? "Let him who agrees with every word and statement of the formularies, cast the first stone at these variations." We all live in houses of crystal, so he proceeds to inform us in p. 495. If it be so, it is surely better than to live in the dungeon-like fashion of the men of whom Dr. Stanley is the advocate. They do nothing but endeavour to obscure the light from others, and betake themselves to the holes and corners of theological doubt and bewilderment. But respecting the fragility of these glass houses, it may be questioned whether at least not a few of them are not as solid as that wall of glass with which many a storied window is filled, which will resist anything short of a truly barbarous attack. There are some extremists in our Church, both high and low, whom I must leave to answer for themselves. I cannot undertake the defence of any who will be so unreasonable and untrue as to condemn their brethren as Zuinglians, because they in reality follow the truly primitive doctrine respecting the Eucharist. Such as profess to follow the *literal* interpretation of *This is my body*, and yet instantly leave that interpretation, which is, *This bread is my body*, making a distinction between the sacred body and the bread, tempt the laity to regard them and their doctrine with contempt, and minister a stumbling-block to their faith in Christianity. To say that the bread is not Christ's body, but that the body is one substance, the bread another, and that the Lord's body is not bread, is to fly from the literal interpretation, which can by no possibility be any other. Was Tertullian a Zuinglian before Zuingli, or not? "*Acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus illum suum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum dicendo, id est figura corporis mei.*" "The bread which he took and distributed to his disciples, he made it his body by saying, 'This is my body,' that is, a *figure of my body*."<sup>1</sup> The doctrine necessarily deducible from that palpably inconsistent interpretation of our Saviour's words, which denies that his body is bread, whilst it affirms that bread is his body, has been judicially and justly condemned; and the manner in which that condemnation was virtually set aside is well known to the world; and the world has not altogether forgotten that defectiveness in the system of our ecclesiastical jurisprudence which the pursuit of Archdeacon Denison by the "relentless Ditcher"<sup>2</sup> brought to light. I think Mr. Ditcher, indeed, deserving of all the credit

<sup>1</sup> *Adv. Marcion*, l. 4, c. 40. See Bp. Kaye's *Tertullian*, pp. 426—430.

<sup>2</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* April 1861, p. 491.

that is due to a faithful regard for the Articles and doctrine of our Reformed Church. The ecclesiastical judge fully cleared Mr. Ditcher by condemning the doctrine which he brought into question. Our Reformers and our formularies were vindicated by the judicial sentence.

6. Alas, it is undeniable, that ever since the clergy of our Church changed their doctrines from those of our Reformers and the clergy that followed them to the time of Laud, one and another amongst them has manifested dissatisfaction with the formularies of our Church. Laud himself evinced that dissatisfaction by the alterations which he made in the Liturgy, when a Liturgy was prepared for the use of the Scottish Episcopal Church. And numerous important changes in our own Prayer-book by the Bishops and others who revised it in the reign of Charles II., shew the same deviation from that course of theological teaching which characterised our Church in the sixteenth century. At length the Arian controversy arose, and the party of Dr. Clarke pleaded that as subscription to the Articles, in a sense different from their original design, had been allowed in some instances, they also were entitled to a similar toleration. In 1772 a petition for relief from subscription was set on foot, of which a notice will be found in Dean Hodgson's *Life of Bishop Porteus*.<sup>1</sup> About that time the press teemed with theories of subscription, and a collection of all the publications of that period on this subject would extend to volume upon volume. Amongst the more remarkable disputants were Doctors Paley, Powell, and Tottie. And now, if the Essayists are to continue in the Church, we are either to submit to a practical proof of the nullity of subscription, or we must have some such subscription as the following: "I, A B, promise to preach and to teach whatsoever I shall find to be most agreeable to my moral sense and my enlightened reason." In other words, all teachers of both religion and irreligion must be placed upon the same level, and receive a portion of the revenues of the establishment. Let not Professor Stanley complain that I am misrepresenting his views. His basis is sufficiently broad to warrant such a state of things. What Deist will object to Dr. Stanley's

<sup>1</sup> "At the close of the year 1772 and the beginning of the next an attempt was made by myself" (Bp. Porteus) "and a few other clergymen, among whom were Mr. Francis Wollaston, Dr. Percy now Bishop of Dromore, and Dr. Yorke now Bishop of Ely, to induce the Bishops to promote a review of the Liturgy and Articles in order to amend in both, but particularly in the latter, those parts which all reasonable persons agreed stood in need of amendment. This plan was not in the smallest degree connected with the petitioners at the Feathers

Tavern, but, on the contrary, was meant to counteract that and all similar extravagant projects; to strengthen and confirm our ecclesiastical establishment; to repel the attacks which were at that time continually made upon it by its avowed enemies; to render the *seventeenth Article on Predestination and Election* clear and perspicuous, and less liable to be wrested by our adversaries to a Calvinistic sense, which has been so unjustly affixed to it, &c." Dean Hodgson's *Life of Bishop Porteus*, pp. 39, 40.



teaching, which is summed up by himself in the Sermon on the Mount, and in the assertion that our Lord's religion was his morality? The Deist can acknowledge that morality to be divine.

7. But is subscription *necessarily* a nullity? The complaints of Professor Stanley and others shew that it is not. A desire is expressed to relax its bonds. Are they then the fetters of superstition? are they the chains of an unreasonable dogmatism? They are so regarded by those who disdain seriously to examine what they are, but are too ready with profane levity to treat them with ridicule and contempt. If my language is severe, it is so because I do not depict what is imaginary.

8. But Dr. Stanley is contending for a shadow, whilst he dreams that any relaxation of subscription to the Articles would give him liberty to teach any doctrines that are opposed to them. What is the theology of both Articles and Liturgy? It is, with some modification, the doctrine of the Western Church as embodied in the writings of St. Augustine. It was that theology in which their authors thought and penned the Collects and the far greater part of our Liturgy. It was that theology which influenced the spirit of all the Reformers both at home and abroad. It is that theology (modified indeed in respect of St. Augustine's doctrine concerning the state of infants dying without baptism) which rules our Articles, partly expressed in his own words.<sup>1</sup> This view, the historical truth of which has been again and again vindicated, and which was placed before his clergy in his elaborate Charge<sup>2</sup> in 1843 by the late Bishop of Lincoln, is the true key to subscription.

And is not truth above all things desirable in the present controversy? Is it not to be desired that we should all take such a view of our formularies as was taken by those who compiled and prepared them? in other words, the true sense?<sup>3</sup> And how otherwise can we enter into their spirit? How otherwise can we perceive the harmony that pervades all our services and connects all our doctrine? Those who take some other method and attach what they imagine to be a more rational or perhaps a more catholic sense to the Articles, lose that intensity of meaning which is to be found both in them and in our Liturgy. There is in the true view a solemnity that leads to such an

<sup>1</sup> The 10th Article.

<sup>2</sup> "The Article makes mention of the Pelagians. This naturally brings to our minds their great opponent Augustine, the most eminent Father of the Western Church. The high estimation in which his authority was held may be equally traced in the writings of the Reformers and in the discussions of the theologians at the Council of Trent." (p. 256.)

<sup>3</sup> See Bishop Kaye's *Charge for 1843*,

pp. 247, 248; Bp. Kaye's *Nine Charges*, &c., edited by his Son. Lond. Rivingtons, 1854. On the 10th Article he observes of the compilers of the Articles, "They have not only adopted the opinions, but in the concluding paragraph have used the very language of Augustine." *De Gratia et Lib. Arbit.* c. 17 or 33. It is c. 17 in the earlier editions. See tom. vii. Pars II. p. 768. ed. Lugd. 1562.

humility and self-abasement as are alien to all those theories which more readily gather round them popular approbation by an appeal to a more superficial knowledge of divine truth and more favourable views of the state and powers of our nature since the Fall. And the superiority of this view is owing to the fact that it is grounded upon a more comprehensive insight into the nature and scope of Holy Scripture.

There are many who, notwithstanding the wonderful variety of Holy Scripture, regard it as solely pertaining to us as a guide of our conduct in regard of the duties of morality and devotion. But it is much more. As a revelation of the divine method of redemption, it comes to us in the form of history and prophecy, and not simply as a rule of either faith or obedience. It unfolds God as a father and friend of his children. It leads us up to him both by the understanding and by the affections. It is thus unique in its character, and its uniqueness is one of the many evidences of its heavenly origin. The Almighty condescends to the humble heart; shews himself to it, leading it in the path which he has himself marked out from an earthly to an eternal home above. Here God converses with them that love him as he did with Moses, face to face.<sup>1</sup> *The secret of the Lord is with them that fear him, and he will shew them his covenant.*<sup>2</sup> *Ye are my friends,* said our Lord to his disciples, *if ye do whatsoever I command you. Henceforth I call you not servants, but friends; for the servant knoweth not what his Lord doeth; but I have called you friends; for all things that I have heard of my Father, I have made known unto you. Ye have not chosen me, but I have chosen you and ordained you, that ye should go and bring forth fruit, and that your fruit should remain.*<sup>3</sup> That family was the pattern of the larger family of the disciples that should constitute the Church to the end of time. To us, if we are truly one with Christ, he manifests himself not as he doth to the world.<sup>4</sup> Only the eye that looks for him can enter into the mysteries of the Scriptures. And as they were written for such eyes, so they contain many things that the majority will read without understanding. They are written for those who love God; but as they are open to the perusal of all, so it must be expected that there will be as many interpretations as there are tastes. Nay, there are many who, for want of growth in self-knowledge, are, to the last, stunted in that intellectual growth which is the consequence of a deep insight into divine truths. Hence the diversities of opinions amongst those who are agreed upon the great and central truth of our Redemption by the eternal Son of God.

Our Church in her Articles begins with the being and nature

<sup>1</sup> "Et si voluntatem Dei nosse quisquam desiderat fiat amicus Deo." Aug. *De Genesi contra Manichi.* l. 1, c. 2, f. 1135, tom. i. Lugd.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xxv. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Joh. xv. 15, 16.

<sup>4</sup> Joh. xiv. 21.

of God, and the mystery of the ever-blessed Trinity. It then affirms the union of the godhead and of the manhood in the person of the Son, his birth of the Virgin, his sufferings, death, and burial, and the great object of his incarnation, that he might *reconcile his Father to us* and be a sacrifice for both original and actual sin. The 3rd Article proceeds to affirm his descent into hell. This Article as explained by Dean Nowell in his Catechism, (a Catechism recognised in the 79th Canon as the larger Catechism of the Church of England) speaks of the invisible state. The 4th Article affirms our Lord's resurrection, ascension, and coming again to be our judge. The 5th asserts the true and proper divinity of the Holy Ghost; the 6th, the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures for salvation; the 7th, the unity of the Patriarchal, Mosaic, and Christian dispensations in one common hope of salvation by Christ, and the unchangeable obligation of the moral law. The 8th declares the three Creeds, the Nicene, Athanasian, and Apostles' Creeds to be binding upon all, as being in harmony with Holy Scripture.

The 9th Article lays down the doctrine of our Church upon Original Sin. This and the following, to the 13th Article inclusive, have been clearly expounded and amply illustrated by the late Bishop of Lincoln in his celebrated Charge of A.D. 1843.

9. The Article on Original Sin contains four propositions: that Original Sin consists in the corruption of our nature; that this corruption is the consequence of the offence of our first parents; that it has in it the nature of sin, and therefore exposes us to the wrath of God; that it remains in the regenerate.

By this corruption of nature, says the Article, "man is very far gone from original righteousness." The Latin is, "*quam longissime.*" But surely both the English and the Latin are very far from answering to the semi-Pelagian exposition of Bishop Tomline and others, that man is not altogether gone from original righteousness, and that his corruption is not total, but partial. Dr. Field in his Appendix to his third book of the Church observes, "The Papists and we agree that original sin is the privation of original righteousness."<sup>1</sup> This righteousness he explains by a gift of divine grace "to enable men to decline evil and to do good, so that the privation of it depriveth a man of all power of knowing, loving, fearing, honouring, or glorifying God as God,<sup>2</sup> and of all power of doing anything morally good or not sinful; and putteth him into an estate wherein he cannot but love and desire things that God would not, or so as he would not have him; yea, of loving other things more than God: and

<sup>1</sup> p. 252. 3rd edit. Oxf. 1635.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Field speaks of such a perfect knowledge of the divine nature and attributes as is attainable by divine grace. He does not deny a lower knowledge of

him from his effects. See B. 1, c. 2: "For though by nature they know God, so far forth as by his effects and glorious works he may be known." (p. 4.)

so as to dishonour God in any kind, rather than not to enjoy the things he desires."<sup>1</sup>

10. The 10th Article states the effects of the fall of Adam upon the will. The doctrine of St. Augustine was, that since the Fall the will indeed was free, it was under no external compulsion, but it chose only that which was evil. He ascribed it to the preventing grace of God that it was changed from bad to good. As represented by the late Bishop of Lincoln, "his freedom in the choice of good is in fact part of the grace, or of the gifts of God, who not only gives freewill, but turns it to that which is good."

In this Article, says Bishop Kaye, the framers of it "have not only adopted the opinions, but in the concluding paragraph have used the very language of Augustine."<sup>2</sup>

11. This is the proof that the doctrine of divine Predestination, as opposed to that system which represents Predestination as a predestination either to the privileges of the Church through baptism, or to eternal life from the foreknowledge of our merits, is the doctrine of the Church of England. It is by his preventing grace that one man is made to differ from another.<sup>3</sup> This is the doctrine alike of St. Augustine and of the Scriptures. So we read in the 110th Psalm: *Thy people shall be willing in the day of thy power. Without me ye can do nothing.* (Joh. xv. 5.) *No man can come to me except the Father which hath sent me draw him.* (Joh. vi. 44.)<sup>4</sup> *I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase. So then neither is he that planted anything, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase.* (1 Cor. iii. 7, 8.)<sup>5</sup> Thus eternal life is from first to last a free gift, according to the sovereign purpose of him who as he had a national, so hath he a spiritual Israel, children of God, not sacramentally merely, for many such are no more now his children than formerly.

The doctrine of divine Predestination is not a speculation either Stoical or Manichæan. It is the express teaching of both the Old and New Testament.

So St. Paul speaks of the faithful in Christ Jesus (Ephes. 1. 1)

<sup>1</sup> *Book of the Church*, pp. 254, 255. See the whole chapter, *Of the three supposed different estates of mere nature, grace, and sin.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ut ergo velimus, sine nobis operatur: quum autem volumus, et sic volumus ut faciamus, nobiscum cooperatur; tamen sine illo vel operante ut velimus vel cooperante quum volumus, ad bona pietatis opera nihil valemus.* *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, c. 17 or 33. Bp. Kaye's *Charges*, p. 257.

<sup>3</sup> Our Reformers we see accepted St. Augustine's as the scriptural doctrine respecting preventing grace, i. e. that it is

a grace not offered to all men, but the special gift of God by which the wills of those who are sanctified are changed from evil to good. This grace itself severs mankind into the predestinate or elect people of God, and those who are not, and therefore contains in itself the doctrine of Predestination. "*Misericordia igitur et judicium in ipsis voluntatibus facta est.*" See Aug. *De Prædestinatione Sanctorum*, c. 6, p. 669. Lugd. 1562.

<sup>4</sup> Aug. *De Præd. Sanctorum*, c. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Aug. *Contra lit. Petilium Donat.* l. 3, c. 54, p. 242, ed. Lugd. tom. vii. Pars prior.

as predestinated according to the purpose of *him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will* (ver. 11). In these few words this truth is summed up in all its length and breadth. Everything that comes to pass comes from the hand of the Most High. All creatures work his will either willingly or unwillingly. He called all things into being, and not only foresaw but foreordained all events. But how then shall this or that difficulty be avoided? How shall the Almighty be cleared of the charge of being the author of evil? Those who will venture to believe only what they can comprehend and justify by the rule of human ignorance, are tempted to say it cannot be; such language as that of the Apostle must be modified to meet these difficulties. And so they are explained away, but the truth remains: *He worketh all things after the counsel of his own will*. The modifying, in other words, the diluting of such language in order to meet the imperfect knowledge of the human mind in the present state, which sees in it difficulties which it cannot solve, arises out of that same spirit which St. Paul brings before us in the words, *Thou wilt say then, Why doth he yet find fault? for who hath resisted his will?* "How," asks the late Bishop of Lincoln, "does the Apostle answer the objection? He does not answer it; he only reproves the presumption of the objector in attempting to penetrate into that which God hath been pleased to conceal, and in venturing, incapable as he necessarily must be, of comprehending the mysteries of the Divine government, to call in question the righteousness of the dealings of God with man."<sup>1</sup>

"The will of God is itself the cause of all things that exist;" so St. Augustine, in the second chapter of his first book on Genesis against the Manichæans.<sup>2</sup> So the will of God and the evil wills of his creatures concur in the same actions, but the quality of the will constitutes that of the act. "*Ecce Christum tradidit Pater, et tradidit Judas: numquid non quasi simile factum videtur? Traditor Judas, ergo traditor est et Deus Pater absit inquis.—Et Pater illum tradidit, et ipse se tradidit: ait idem Apostolus, Qui me dilexit et tradidit semetipsum pro me. Si Pater tradidit Filium, et tradidit seipsum Filius, Judas quid fecit? Facta est traditio a Patre, facta est traditio a Filio, facta est traditio a Juda. Una res facta est. Sed quæ res discernit Patrem tradentem Filium, seipsum Filium tradentem, et Judam discipulum tradentem magistrum suum? Quia hoc fecit Pater et Filius in charitate, fecit autem hoc Judas in proditione.—Deus cogitavit salutem nostram quâ redempti sumus; Judas cogitavit precium quo vendidit Dominum; Filius ipse cogitavit pretium quod dedit pro nobis.*"<sup>3</sup>

*Of him and through him and to him are all things.* Rom. 11. 36.

<sup>1</sup> Bp. Kaye's *Sermons and Addresses*, p. 569.

<sup>2</sup> tom. i. p. 1135.

<sup>3</sup> *Expos. in Epist. Joan.* Tr. vii. p. 774.



Is this written of the works of creation only? It is written of all the events of ages distant many centuries from one another, events involving the history of myriads of individuals both Jews and Gentiles; and by parity of reasoning it applies, and on the very letter of the passage applies, to all mankind. All events are evolved, all arise out of his all-directing hand. Without any disturbance of the truth of our responsibility, the Almighty disposes all hearts, all wills, all events. He has his own purposes in creating as well the several works and orders of mind as in creating the material universe. He is supreme in all parts of his empire. *He, in the words of Nebuchadnezzar, doeth according to his will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth.* Dan. 4. 35. *Our God is in the heavens, saith David; he hath done whatsoever he hath pleased.* Ps. 115. 8.

It is not denied even by those who deny the truth of Predestination, that God not only foresaw all things that should come to pass, but that all things will in the end work out one glorious plan of infinite wisdom. And now how is this to be effected? Is it to be the result of myriads of contingencies, of chance and accident? If indeed there be in the minds of all creatures the kind of freedom that is demanded by those who deny the truth of Predestination, then will a magnificent and consistent result, then will the ends of the Almighty in the permission of so much that now appears contrary to our anticipations of a scheme of divine government, be eventually produced out of a numberless series of independent and uncontrollable agencies. In other words, we must believe that whilst the material universe could not have arisen out of chance, it was not so with the far nobler kingdom of the mind. That without any law and without any guiding hand is acknowledged to have the power of fulfilling a series of prophecies describing the results of the actions of successive generations, those actions arising from no fixed principles, nothing in its own nature certain. This principle, which takes all events out of the hand of God and assigns the disposal of them all to chance, is the inevitable consequence of sacrificing the truth of Predestination in order to clear up difficulties which the Scriptures themselves warn us to leave to that day when we shall know even as also we are known.<sup>1</sup> Thus it is ordained that if we will frame to ourselves a more (as we conceive) reasonable scheme than that of Revelation, we open the door to Atheism itself. In regard of the mysteries of the Divine government, if anywhere, faith is the highest reason.

The absolute foreknowledge, it has been said, necessarily implies the predeterminate purpose of God.<sup>2</sup> It implies the

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Bp. Kaye's *Sermons and Addresses*, p. 569. "It is very true that the knowledge whether of a past or a future event

does not cause the certainty of that event; but it is quite enough for our object if it indicate this certainty." Dr. Chalmers' *Institutes of Theology*, vol. ii. p. 355.

certainty of every event. And this is a mystery identical with that of predestination. What is the objection that naturally presents itself to the mind when predestination is first brought before it? The certainty which it assigns to every event, to every act and thought. But need this be a difficulty to a creature who resigns himself into the hands of his Creator? This very certainty is the ground of his confidence. He knows that nothing is more sure than the promise of his God that all things shall work together for his good. But as he regards predestination not as a chain of isolated events but of means and ends all equally real, all alike necessary, he without any inconsistency, nay in consequence of his consistency, regards the means as necessary to the ends, and acknowledges the need of giving diligence to make his *calling and election sure*.<sup>1</sup> If predestinated to life, he is foreappointed to be conformed to the image of his Lord.<sup>2</sup>

This doctrine appears<sup>3</sup> in the book of Genesis as an article of the faith of the Patriarchs. Eliezer believed that God would appoint a wife for Isaac, and prayed to him to give him his direction and blessing, and to fulfil the design of his journey. Laban himself acknowledged the hand of God and said, *The thing proceedeth from the Lord: we cannot speak unto thee bad or good. Behold Rebekah is before thee; take her and go, and let her be thy master's son's wife, as the Lord hath spoken.* Gen. 24. 51. Joseph recognised the hand of God in the whole course of events that resulted in his afflictions, and after them in his exaltation: *So now it was not you that sent me hither, but God.* Gen. 45. 8. God promised Moses that he would sway the hearts of the Egyptians so that they should furnish the Israelites for their departure out of Egypt; *I will give this people favour in the sight of the Egyptians.* Exod. 3. 21. So in the second book of Chronicles we read of the revival of religion under Hezekiah; *Hezekiah rejoiced, and all the people, that God had prepared the people: for the thing was done suddenly.* 2 Chron. 29. 36. And all who believe to salvation are in the Old Testament in various places promised to the Son of God for his reward.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Pet. i. 10.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. viii. 29.

<sup>3</sup> On the working of the Almighty on the wills of men to turn them to himself, see *Augustini contra duas Epistolas Pelagii ad Bonifacium*, l. 1, c. 20, p. 191, tom. vii. Pars. II. Lugd. 1562. On his inclining the wills of the wicked; see *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, c. 20, 21, pp. 773—777. And compare Calvin's *Institutes of Theology*, l. 1, c. 16, § 8. In c. 16, § 8 he observes how St. Augustine himself was charged with advocating the

Stoical doctrine of Fate, and points out the distinction between that and the doctrine of St. Augustine. With Christians, not nature but God is the arbiter and ruler of all things, who according to his wisdom has decreed from all eternity whatsoever he would do, and now by his power accomplishes his decrees. *Institutio Christianæ Religionis*, p. 84. Lond. 1576.

<sup>4</sup> So Ps. xxii. 30; xlv. 10—17; lxxii. 5, 8—11; lxxxvii. 6; ex. 3; Isa. liii. 10—11; lv. 5.

And that this was the doctrine of the Church St. Augustine proved from the prayers in which all united and had been united from the first. On this point he frequently insisted, but nowhere more fully than in his *Epistle to Vitalis*, written in A.D. 417. In that letter he refers Vitalis to Cyprian's treatise on the Lord's Prayer. In that prayer he observes, we entreat of God to confer the grace of faith upon the enemies of faith, that of blasphemers they may be made believers. Such prayers he says are unmeaning and utterly useless if it do not pertain to divine grace to turn to the faith the wills of such as are opposed to it. Equally trivial and unmeaning are the thanks returned for the conversion of unbelievers, if God himself do not work this in them.<sup>1</sup> "Assuredly," he says, "we do not pray to God, but make a pretence of praying, if we believe that not he, but we ourselves do that for which we pray."

But I may perhaps be thought to have dwelt too long upon a subject unwelcome to many, and one upon which there exists such a variety of opinions. I have touched upon it in order to elucidate the nature of subscription, and to vindicate what I cannot help regarding as the only meaning, the only interpretation which can be shewn to answer to the Articles and Liturgy of our Church; the latter the composition for the most part of ages in which the predestination of St. Augustine was recognised by its authors, Leo the Great, Gelasius, and Gregory the Great. I pass on therefore at once to the 17th Article.

The only election that is to be found in Scripture, says an eminent writer of our own time, is an election to privileges; privileges, the benefit of which may be nullified by the neglect of those who are elected to enjoy them. So the 17th Article is interpreted of our baptismal privileges and external calling into the Christian Church. But in what sense, I would ask all who plead for such an interpretation, is such an election the result of *the divine counsel secret to us*? That God would call us Gentiles into his Church, and that he hath chosen us to admission into it by baptism, is no part of his *counsel secret to us*. That counsel hidden in former ages was openly revealed by the Gospel; it is openly read and known, and is no secret to any. Not so that secret counsel of the Almighty, of which predestination to life is the object, and of which it was the object from all eternity; the everlasting purpose of God.

Neither was this now manifested mystery, the election of us Gentiles to the outward call of the Gospel and to admission into the Church by baptism, a handle to any to yield to desperation on the one hand, or on the other to give themselves up to an epicurean indifference and disregard of all moral obligation. How, consistently with common experience or with common sense, can it be said of such an election as that to admission into

<sup>1</sup> c. 2, § 6, *Opusc.* tom. i. pp. 498, 499. Paris, 1726.

the Christian Church, that by having it continually before their eyes, curious and carnal persons bring upon themselves a "most dangerous downfall, whereby the devil doth thrust them either into desperation or into wretchedness of unclean *living*, no less perilous than desperation?"<sup>1</sup> The same observation is equally applicable to those who understand the article of an election to eternal life upon the foresight of our faith and obedience. There is nothing in such a theory to lay it open to those abuses, which it is no secret are constantly alleged as an objection to the doctrine of Predestination as grounded upon the *secret* and eternal purpose of God. And again, the will of God to crown with salvation all whose faith and obedience he foresees, is no part of his secret counsel. It is known and understood by all men who have the Scriptures in their hands. It is openly recognised by *the promises of God as they be generally set forth to us in Holy Scripture.*

But is not this reference in the Article to those promises in evident opposition to the predestination of Calvin and Augustine? Those who make this objection have only to consult the works of these eminent persons<sup>2</sup> to be satisfied that there is no ground for it, but the reverse.

But is not the harsh tenet of particular redemption opposed to the formularies of our Church, and is not that a part of the Predestinarian doctrine? It is still but ignorantly charged upon Calvin that he denied universal redemption. Both Calvin and the Synod of Dort maintained that all men were to be called to faith and repentance. But faith was defined by Calvin to be "the embracing of Christ as he is offered to us by the Father, for righteousness, for peace, and the remission of sins, and for sanctification and as the source of life."<sup>3</sup>

The 17th Article is built upon the plain letter of both the Old and New Testament, undiluted by the application of human hypotheses. It is in harmony with the doctrine of the Scriptures respecting the Divine government and the sovereignty of God as well in the worlds of mind as of matter. That it is open to misconception and abuse, is no more than may be said of any other truth when the seed of the Word is received into an unprepared soil: on the other hand, as it finds a place in our formularies, and underlies the Liturgy itself, it is of no small moment that it should be regarded with that deference which is due to it as the voice at once of the Scriptures and of the Church.

<sup>1</sup> The 17th Article.

<sup>2</sup> Calvin's *Institutes*, l. 3, c. 24, § 8 and 16, and upon St. Augustine, l. 3, c. 23, § 13, 14. And the *Synod of Dort*, c. 1, Article 1, § 3, § 16, c. 2, § 5. Cæterum promissio evangelii est, ut quisquis credit in Christum crucifixum non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam. Quæ promissio omnibus populis et hominibus, ad quos

Deus pro suo beneplacito mittit evangelium, promiscue et indiscriminatim annuntiari et proponi debet cum resipiscentiæ et fidei mandato. *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis Publicatarum.* Ed. Dr. H. A. Niemeyer. Lips. 1840, p. 705.

<sup>3</sup> *Instit.* l. 3, c. 2, § 8, p. 255.

12. But the Liturgy is by many considered to be utterly repugnant to such a doctrine, on the ground that our Church teaches explicitly that Baptism is invariably accompanied with Regeneration. Alas, I fear that, with no inconsiderable number, the truth is in this instance sacrificed to a shadow.

That the mere external rite, the mere use of the baptismal formula and the sprinkling of water, ensures the spiritual regeneration without which none shall see the kingdom of God, is purely a modern fiction. It is in direct opposition to the doctrine of all ages, the doctrine of Holy Scripture, namely, that the privileges of the Church are the sole inheritance of her children. Her children are the members of her body in living union with her head; *a body of faithful men*. The Church cannot indeed ensure the sincerity of all who compose that body as it appears to the eyes of men. But the Church in charity regards them as such, whilst they outwardly communicate together in holy things. But where they do not so much as draw near the Table of the Lord, she cannot consistently regard them as her members. Hence they have no right to her privileges, and it is, we know, nothing but our unhappy want of a thoroughly consistent and effective discipline that continues those anomalies in practice which are at variance with this view. But those anomalies cannot alter the only legitimate idea of the Church of Christ, which is that of a body of believers united at least in the celebration of the same worship and sacraments. Only to such and to their children can the blessings of the Christian covenant pertain. If therefore the 29th Canon were at this moment abolished, sponsors who were not communicants would still form an anomaly in practice, inconsistent with the catholic idea of the Church and with our present baptismal service. The sponsors are interrogated as representing the child about to be baptized. The sacrament is accordingly administered on the supposition that the child is a believer, in other words, it is bound to faith previously to its baptism. The child answers by its sponsors that it believes all the articles of the Christian faith. It is then asked in the person of the sponsors, *Wilt thou be baptised in this faith?* It is evidently on the assumption of faith in the subject of baptism that the whole service proceeds.

But the Church does not by her provisions recognise the right of any individual to stand as a sponsor. The Church presumes that the sponsors are themselves true members of her body. We do not look ourselves for blessings from the prayers of those who are living in the constant violation of the divine precepts. How then should the Church instruct the sponsors to pray for blessings upon others whilst as yet themselves living in the constant neglect of the Lord's Table? Such must first plead for themselves, before they can plead for others, the words



of our Saviour Christ, *Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you.*

So far from its being the general doctrine of professing Christians at any time that the blessings of this Sacrament do not depend upon faith, but simply upon the outward rite, the Catechism of the Council of Trent shews that it is the doctrine of the Church of Rome herself, that "to the obtaining the grace of Baptism faith is requisite."<sup>1</sup> They are the very words of the Index. And this grace is made to depend, first upon the faith of the parents, if the parents are believers, but if not, upon the faith of all whose pleasure it is that they should be brought to baptism, and by whose charity they are united to the communion of the Holy Spirit; for this is the interpretation of the words that precede them, "the whole society of the saints."<sup>2</sup>

We find in the *Sarum Manual* that the child, whilst regarded only as a catechumen, was even *previously to its baptism* acknowledged as God's elect servant; *hunc electum famulum tuum.* And this was in an age when the doctrine of Predestination was still, as it had been for many centuries previously, the undisputed doctrine of the Western Church.

So Hooker, treating upon the Sacrament of Baptism, refers to St. Augustine, saying in one of his sermons, "The Church provides for infants the feet of others that they may come, the heart of others that they may believe, the tongue of others that they may confess; that since they are laden with infirmity through the sin of another (that is, Adam), so, when they are made whole by another confessing for them, they may be saved."<sup>3</sup> And again, in the 14th sermon (in the older editions) of the same series, "Whence do they believe? How do they believe? By the faith of their parents. If they are cleansed by the faith of their parents, they are polluted by the sin of their parents. The body of death in their first parents generated them sinners; the Spirit of life in their subsequent parents regenerated them."<sup>4</sup>

That the Sacrament of Baptism is effectually the Sacrament of Regeneration, when any with such a faith bring their children thus to the arms of Christ, has, it is certain, been the doctrine of many of the most distinguished of our own theologians.

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Baptismi gratiam assequendam fides est necessaria.*

<sup>2</sup> "Neque enim dubitare licet, quin fidei sacramenta, quum abluuntur, accipiant, non quia mentis suæ assensione credant, sed quia parentum fide, si parentes fideles fuerint, sin minus, fide (ut D. Augustini verbis loquamur) universæ societatis sanctorum muniuntur. Etenim ab iis omnibus recte dicimus eos baptismo offerri, quibus placet ut offerantur, et

quorum caritate ad communionem Sancti Spiritus adiunguntur." *Catechismi ad Parochos.* Pars II. c. 2, p. 144. Lipsiæ, ed. Tauchnitz, 1847.

<sup>3</sup> *De Verbis Apostoli*, Sermon. 10, p. 381. *Op.* tom. x. Lugd. 1561. And Hooker's *Ecl. Polity*, B. 5, c. 64, § 4, vol. ii. p. 49. Oxf. 1845.

<sup>4</sup> St. Augustine in this sermon refers 1 Cor. c. 7, v. 14 to baptism. *De Verbis Apost.* Sermon. 14, p. 421.

So Bishop Andrewes, on the second Commandment: "Though children baptized cannot be properly said to believe of themselves, by reason of their minority, yet are they believers by their *fide jussores*, or godfathers and godmothers and parents, who present them, and desire to have them baptized in the faith of Christ, and received into the Church, as were the Jews' children by circumcision. 'Inter credentes,' saith Augustine, 'igitur populos baptizatos numeratis, nec judicare aliter ullo modo audebis, si non vis esse assertus hæreticus.' 'Thou art to impute little children christened, among believers; nor must thou dare to judge otherwise, if thou wilt not be an open heretic, &c.'"<sup>1</sup>

Bishop Montagu, in his *Appeal*: "As in little infants, the faith of the Church and those that present them to be baptized is by God reputed their own; so the willingness and desire of the same Church, of their godfathers and parents, is reputed theirs."<sup>2</sup>

13. But is faith ever wanting, and are the outward and inward part ever separated? St. Augustine taught that the baptism of heretics and schismatics was not to be reiterated, but that it did not confer the spiritual grace of baptism.

On the 77th (our 78th) Psalm, treating of the ancient people of God, he says: "Cum essent omnibus communia sacramenta, non communis erat omnibus gratia quæ sacramentum virtus est. Sicut et nunc jam revelata fide quæ tunc velabatur, omnibus in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti baptizatis commune est lavacrum regenerationis, sed ipsa gratia cujus sunt ipsa sacramenta, quæ membra corporis Christi cum suo capite regenerata sunt, non communis est omnibus. Nam et hæretici habent eundem baptismum et falsi fratres in communione catholici nominis."<sup>3</sup> "Whilst the sacraments were common to all, the grace which is the virtue of the sacraments was not common to all. As now, when the faith is revealed which was then under a veil, the fountain of regeneration is common to all who are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; but the grace itself, of which they are the very sacraments by which the members of the body of Christ are regenerate with their head, are not common to all. For heretics also have the same baptism, and false brethren in the Catholic communion."

Nay, in that famous body of theology, Peter Lombard's Sentences in the 12th century, there is a passage said to be taken from St. Augustine, "*In solis electis sacramenta efficiunt quod figurant;*" "The sacraments only work in the elect that which they represent."<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Serm. 294, § 14, tom. v. ed. Paris, 1689.

<sup>2</sup> p. 247.

<sup>3</sup> p. 1027, tom. viii. Pars. 1ma. Lugd.

1561. And so *Contra Lit. Petil. Don.* l. 2, c. 108, p. 199, tom. vii. Pars. I. Lugd. 1562.

<sup>4</sup> l. iv. dist. 4.

If then the denial of the universal and unfailing efficacy of the rite of baptism, if the affirming of the necessity of grace in parents and sponsors, be a denial of the catholic doctrine of Baptism, Augustine and multitudes after him for many centuries have been wanting in fidelity to the truth. But if it be not so, then is it contrary to catholic antiquity to condemn these views of baptism as erroneous. Nay, they are undoubtedly in harmony with the most ancient formularies used in our own country long previously to the Reformation, and with that doctrine of St. Augustine which is alike embodied in our Liturgy and Articles. If Dr. Stanley<sup>1</sup> comprehended such views as I have here defended and illustrated, in his allusion to "the direct collision between the Low-Church party and the Prayer-book," he must here at least allow that they only symbolize with St. Augustine and the whole Western Church for many ages, and with the venerable Bishop Andrewes who certainly was never an example in any respect of what may be with truth designated as *Low-churchmanship*.

14. But it is greatly to be feared that amidst all the disputes that have succeeded each other in the last thirty years, that spiritual regeneration, to the absolute necessity of which the sacrament of Baptism is a witness, has in too many instances been altogether put out of sight.

That regeneration, without which a man cannot be prepared for the joys of heaven, is something more than a capacity of renewal; it is renewal itself, a new heart, new motives, new affections, a new and heavenward life, a spirit of entire union with the Divine will, a spirit of humility and contrition, of entire resignation to the will of God, and of delight in his service; a life of faith, hope, and love; a life animated and inspired by the grateful love of the only Son of God as our Redeemer; a looking to the Lamb of God as the only ground of our justification, and at the same time as our only pattern and rule of life. Such a life, begun in the heart by the almighty and regenerating power of the Holy Spirit, is indeed, and nothing short of it, the life of God in the soul of man. And to quicken them to this spiritual life we need to call upon men to enquire whether such a life is already begun in them; that if they find no signs of it within, they may without delay implore the help of that Holy Spirit, who alone can raise them up from the death of sin to the life of righteousness. Whether it be called regeneration or renovation, this alone is vital Christianity; this alone can minister either glory to God or solid comfort and peace to the hearts of men. Human nature is ever prone to rest in something lower,

<sup>1</sup> *Edinb. Rev.* April 1861, p. 491. I would refer Dr. Stanley to *Sacramental Instruction*, by the Rev. C. Bridges, M.A., Vicar of Old Newton. Lond. Seeleys,

1844. Mr. Bridges would probably pass with him for an extreme partisan of Low-churchmanship.

in something less comprehensive, in something less spiritual, something more akin to unrenewed nature, more flattering to self-esteem, more compatible with one and another form of self-love.

And the very means to such an end as the new creation of the soul to spiritual life, the humble study of the Scriptures, the examination of our inmost purposes and principles, secret prayer and communion with eternal things, these are all to be urged upon a nature conversant almost hourly with the temptations of the outer world; a nature alienated from the love of God; a nature ready to misconceive of spiritual truth, from that earthly colouring which it is ever ready to impart to all the objects that are brought in review before it. Is there no reason to fear that even these, the only means by which we can help forward such a renewal of the soul, are but too little regarded, and that external is too frequently cultivated to the neglect of private devotion?

Is there no reason to fear lest the outward work of Christianity should still, in too many instances, become a temptation to carry away the mind from the true nature of Christianity, *the kingdom of God within us*, the Christ-like spirit of lowliness and meekness, the constant sacrifice of a broken and contrite heart? Are these, the most blessed and indispensable ends of all worship and sacraments, always regarded, as they are in truth, the essential life of true religion? Whilst some are lost in the hurry and bustle of societies, unions, and public meetings, it may be, of the most opposite descriptions; and others are devoted to the beautifying the exterior of religion, and to the adorning of churches with an expenditure that is unhappily devoted to still greater and more pressing objects upon a less proportionate scale; is there no need of an urgent call on all sides to a more genuine spirituality of faith and life, a renewal of the soul such as alone can prepare it to live as becomes our nearness to eternity and our relation to it?<sup>1</sup>

The necessity of such a *new birth as is manifest by the life of faith and holiness* is set forth by both Chrysostom and Augustine when they speak, the one in his *Homilies*, the other in his noble work, *De Civitate Dei*,<sup>2</sup> of the need that exists alike for all, of experiencing the first or spiritual, as they would have part in the blessings of the second resurrection. St. Augustine therefore speaks of these two great changes as *two regenerations*.<sup>3</sup>

Again, St. Augustine calls the whole progress of the Christian life, as it is a continual growth in the likeness of Christ, our

<sup>1</sup> Our real dangers are set in a clear and practical light, and corresponding in spirit to the above reflections, in the late Bishop of Lincoln's *Sermons on the Consecration of Woolsthorpe and Manthorpe Churches*.

<sup>2</sup> l. xx. c. 6.

<sup>3</sup> *De Civitate Dei*, p. 544, tom. v. Pars. 2da. Lugd. 1560. And so regeneration is regarded as the resurrection of the soul in his *Homily on the 3rd Psalm*, p. 16, tom. viii.

regeneration. "In quantum similes, in tantum, regenerante Spiritu, filii Dei; in quantum autem dissimiles, in tantum filii carnis et seculi."<sup>1</sup> In so far as we are like him, by the regenerating Spirit, we are the sons of God; in so far as we are unlike, we are the children of the flesh and of the world." And accordingly, in another place, he speaks of our regeneration as being then perfected when we shall be perfected even to an entire freedom from sinful thoughts in the future state.<sup>2</sup>

Again, the new creature is said to be so called on account of his regeneration and the renovation of spiritual habits, in other words, his renewal to a spiritual life.<sup>3</sup> Again, the Christian is said to be regenerated from his old state by faith.<sup>4</sup> And similarly does St. Augustine explain that eating of our Lord, the bread of life, which is the great topic of the 6th chapter of St. John's Gospel: "He who believes in him, eats him, is nourished up invisibly, because he is invisibly newborn."<sup>5</sup> So upon our Lord's words, *While ye have light, believe in the light, that ye may be the children of light*, he says, "Believe in the truth that ye may be newborn in the truth."<sup>6</sup> Neither did St. Augustine alone insist upon such a birth of the Spirit as was attested by a spiritual life. It was the general teaching of the Fathers. They took in their obvious meaning the words of our Lord, *that which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.*<sup>7</sup> The importance of *this* doctrine of the *new birth* cannot be exaggerated. And as it brings the spiritual nature of Christianity prominently before men's eyes, so is it especially requisite to keep alive in their hearts, in an age of unhallowed speculation, the indispensable nature of the Gospel as the only light, the only preparation that can avail for the pilgrim on his way to the heavenly kingdom.<sup>8</sup>

But it is grounded on a truer and deeper view of the corruption of human nature than can be expected to be palatable to the great multitude. *The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked: who can know it?* (Jer. xvii. 9.) I have

<sup>1</sup> *De Peccatorum Meritis*, l. ii. c. 8, p. 855, tom. vii. Pars prior. Lugd. 1562.

<sup>2</sup> *Contra duas Epist. Pelagianorum ad Bonifacium*, l. iv. c. 2, p. 265, tom. vii. Pars 2da.

<sup>3</sup> *In Ps. vi.* p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> *De veteribus regeneratos per fidem.* *In Ps. vii.* p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> *Qui credit in eum manducat invisibiliter saginatur, quia et invisibiliter renascitur.* *Tr. 26 in Joh.* p. 273, tom. ix.

<sup>6</sup> *Tr. 52 in Joh.* p. 469.

<sup>7</sup> These words are sufficient to point out that our Lord speaks only of such a regeneration as is evidenced by a change of heart. Any other view deprives these words of all significance; a point but too frequently overlooked in much that

has been written upon Baptism in the present century. The Romish commentator, Noel Alexander, observes upon these words, that he who is born of the Spirit, is made spiritual in affection; *he who is joined to the Lord is one spirit.* 1 Cor. vi. 7.

<sup>8</sup> The design of the present life is to fit us for a future and heavenly state of existence which is based upon principles altogether alien to the natural bias of every man as born into this world. This, which no man in his senses can dispute, at least with any belief in Divine revelation, necessarily calls for that change of heart which is here and in Scripture represented as the effect of a second or new birth by the Holy Spirit.



read very sharp reflections upon somewhat similar language as used in the Book of Homilies.<sup>1</sup> But if this be the strongest language possible, it is his who alone knows the heart. And as he has solemnly declared that he that exalteth himself shall be abased, and he that humbleth himself shall be exalted, so only can self-knowledge subdue that pride which is by nature the inheritance of all, and separates all men from God.

Such views are indeed consonant with the doctrine of our Church both in the Articles and Liturgy. No other teaching is consistent with that acknowledgment, *there is no health in us*.

15. Upon such a foundation does the Scripture establish faith in the free grace of God, in our full justification from all our sins, and assurance of our adoption into the family of God through the righteousness and merits of our only Saviour. Your Lordship faithfully exposed that contrary spirit of bondage<sup>2</sup> which the mediæval errors of Tractarianism have in our day brought into the Church; whilst this doctrine of Justification, so ably set forth in Cranmer's *Homily of Salvation*, and in the writings of the Reformers generally, was nobly vindicated by Bishop Andrewes in his sermon on *The Lord our Righteousness*, and by Bishop Downname in his complete work upon this subject, a very storehouse both of scriptural and patristic learning, and more recently by the late eminent Bishops of Lincoln and Chichester, Kaye and Shuttleworth.<sup>3</sup>

For the advancement of true religion amongst us, in the face of that immoral and disgraceful attempt which is now making to establish theological scepticism in the Church of England, I would look rather to a general return to the original teaching of our Church than to any other expedient or to any other

<sup>1</sup> For instance, in the present Archbishop of Canterbury's *Apostolical Preaching*, 9th edit., a volume which very inadequately answers its object, if indeed that object be the development of the doctrinal teaching of St. Paul's Epistles. Let the reader compare, with a view to this enquiry, the statements of the most reverend author upon Justification with those of the late Bishop of Lincoln in his Charge for 1843; or of Prof. Heurtley in his Bampton Lectures. The 9th edit. is accompanied with a Preface, dated February 1850, designed to qualify some statements in the body of the work. Would it not have been safer to have inserted such emendations in the work itself?

<sup>2</sup> In *Six Sermons before the University of Oxford*.

<sup>3</sup> See Bishop Kaye's Charge for 1843, and Bishop Shuttleworth's *Three Sermons on Justification*. Oxf. 1840. I regret that Bishop O'Brien should have left his

recently re-edited volume of *Sermons on Justification* imperfect, by passing over the testimonies of the first four centuries of the Christian Church immediately after the Apostolic age. That information will be found in *Flaccii Illyrici Catalogus Testium Veritatis*, 1608; Dr. Downname, Bishop of Derry, *On Justification*; Bp. Andrewes' *Sermon on Jer. xxiii. 6*; the Rev. G. S. Faber's *Primitive Doctrine of Justification*; and Professor Heurtley's *Bampton Lectures for 1845*. See also *Walchii Bibliotheca Patristica*, c. 9, pp. 512—514. Jenæ, 1834; Dr. Joh. Gerhardt's *Confessio Catholica*, tom. iv. art. 23, p. 525, especially p. 555, 'Quod Patrum suffragia nobis largiuntur,' &c. Jenæ, 1661; Dr. Joh. Forbes' *Instruct. Historico-Theolog.* l. viii. c. 24, 25, pp. 393—401. Amstel. 1702; Fra. Buddæi *Institut. Theol. Dogmat.* l. iv. c. 4, § 17, p. 1367; H. L. Heubner, *Historia antiquior dogmatis de modo salutis tenendæ*, &c. Viteb. 1805.

means. When religion takes hold of the earnest spirits of a nation it is impregnable.

16. But I would not, with too many, overlook the duty of an advance in every branch of theological learning. The shallowness of the Essayists as theologians, as reasoners, and as philosophers, is notorious. Their little learning in those departments in which they have set themselves up as leaders and reformers has been made evident to all by exposures from the most opposite quarters, by exposures as well from the hands of their lay as of their clerical brethren. The Head-Master of Rugby sinks into nothingness as an author, if his Essay be compared with the able dissertation which Dr. Pears the Head-Master of Repton School has prefixed to his *Short Sermons on the Elements of Christian Truth*. But it would be invidious to particularize. The combatants are before the public, and no important observer will hesitate for a moment to decide on whose side lies the victory. But such is the weakness of human nature, that it is ever prone to extremes. Some will extol contemplation to the neglect of action; others will leave theology no time to polish and prepare her weapons before she goes into the field. It is the grievous error of some even confessedly excellent persons, that they depreciate learning in the clergy; they would have them so swallowed up in things as well secular as sacred as to leave no time to devote even to the careful study of the Scriptures. There are too many who habitually venture into the pulpit only to disappoint those who look up to them as well for the guidance of the understanding as of the heart. Ours is an age of excitement, of public labours invaluable and diversified; but the upholding of a sound theology, the preservation of truth in its integrity, the unfolding of the great things of the Word of God, these are objects inferior to none that can possibly exist; all spiritual vitality depends upon them.

17. Meanwhile great changes are year by year passing around us. We too are infected with the spirit of innovation. Let us all labour to suppress that spirit. Let us rather repair the foundations and strengthen the walls than be ever removing and substituting; it may come to pass with us as with many noble buildings before our eyes, that by restoration our Church shall step by step lose its identity. We owe loyalty not to a Church of the future, but to the Church of our fathers. We do not, I fear, for the most part, value either the Church of Christ in its earlier days, or the Church as we have received it ourselves, a sacred deposit from far greater ages, as becomes the descendants of such illustrious ancestors, the Fathers, Bishops, and Martyrs of the primitive Church and of our own.

18. Let us all aim at a nearer approach to unity, to oneness of feeling; let us all seek union in the support of our common

interests as members of one body; let us seek how we may conciliate one another without hollow compromises, and with an unwavering regard to those truths which should be the common badge of all who subscribe the same Creeds and Articles, and join in the same sound and beautiful form of worship, a worship for simplicity and sublimity never equalled in the earlier ages of Catholic Christendom. Let us not persist in adding to the Liturgy observances that are based upon no rubrics. Let us not persist in violating those rubrics, as by declining to call the communicants, immediately after the blessing with which the Holy Communion concludes, reverently to eat and drink what remains of the consecrated bread and wine. Let us not persist, on the other hand, in selecting our own lessons, and omitting such as are taken out of the Apocryphal books. Let us not, because this or that society, which materially strengthens the hands of the Church at home or abroad, does not in all respects and in all instances meet our own views, anathematize it as contrary to the Church or to the Gospel. Let us not in heart regard the Church simply as it does or does not meet our own views of what ought to be; let us be in it not as a private society, but as members of one body, and servants of one family. Let us not form a Church within the Church, but feel and act as those who have ecclesiastically and spiritually no interests but such as are one with the Church. Those who deliberately add or take away, in the discharge of their official trust as ministers of the Church, are unfaithful to their obligations. Their names may differ, but they are in reality as defective in their moral standard as they are inconsistent in their religious profession. Whatsoever differences may exist amongst such, they are agreed in continuing those unhappy stumbling-blocks which lie in the way of that union which is not only most desirable, but which is never really unattainable in the communion to which it is our privilege to belong.

Discord and dissension are not the fruits of the Spirit of God. It was by unity of principle that the Reformation was effected. It was one faith that rose up in this land out of the fall of the Romish tyranny, and set up our Church as it were anew, cleansed from all superstition and idolatry, and beaming with the heavenly light of the Holy Scriptures. It was with one faith, under one Lord, that the Apostles invited the world to the one baptism of his Church. Let us seek a return to such an unity as then bound the Church together in one heart. We have subscribed to the teaching of our venerable Reformers. He who has ceased to venerate their names has ceased to be a Christian but in name. Our Church is not for such, neither can they find a *home* within her walls. We are members of a Church purified from all the accretions of antisciptural tradition. Let us look well to that doctrine, which is not only

embodied in our Articles, but which prevailed in those early periods to which we owe our Liturgy. Let us so seek to be one. But where we are not at one, if we are essentially united in the same faith in the ever-blessed Trinity and in the name and sacrifice and atoning death of Christ, let us bear with one another's imperfections; let us zealously cooperate as far as possible in every good work, in every effort to promote the well-being of that pure and reformed part of Christ's Church established in these dominions.

19. But let us not for a moment relax our most earnest endeavours to root out of the Church those impieties which, in the discordant shape of a purely negative theology, would fain establish themselves within our communion.<sup>1</sup> And here, my Lord, I cannot but express my grief at the utter inadvertency of not a few of our brethren, who by their names sanctioned the promotion of one who had already denied the doctrine of the Redemption, nay, had not rested there, but had proceeded to denounce it as a doctrine injurious to the Divine character. That such teachers should remain in our Church year after year, is an insult to morality, an insult to Christianity. That he should have his admirers, his advocates amongst such as profess themselves members of our Church, is but a lamentable proof that in religion alone ignorance and inconsistency lose all discredit. But inconceivably ignorant as those cannot fail to be, who can join in our worship whilst denying the central doctrine of our Church, still more inexcusable are those ministers who subscribe to the great truth that the Son of God took our nature upon him to reconcile his Father to us, and at the same time maintain that it is contrary to truth and reason that any reconciliation should be required, any sacrifice demanded for sin. There exists no doubt, there can exist no doubt, in an honest mind, that to whomsoever the toleration of such teaching in our Church is owing, such parties are guilty of unfaithfulness to their trust as the appointed guardians of the Church of England and of the spiritual interests of her members. Already advantage has been taken of such toleration to represent our Church as utterly prostrate before the irruption of error, devoid of discipline, with safeguards that are no safeguards, requiring subscription that cannot be enforced, and sheltering the preachers of the most revoltingly antichristian doctrines.

This scandal has already been too long suffered amongst us. It cannot for ever be tolerated without altering the whole character of our Church as an establishment. Let this anomaly be

<sup>1</sup> The Bishops had prepared a bill for the improvement of ecclesiastical discipline. It was submitted to the Lord Chancellor for his approval. But instead of expressing approval or disapproval, he set to work and produced a bill of his own,

a bill of which a fear exists that it may not give the same satisfaction to the Bishops with that which he has been pleased to set aside. So we are in danger of unnecessary delay at a most critical period.

sanctioned by law, and the Church will cease to be Christian, and having ceased to be Christian, Christians will cease to uphold it. And the Church having ceased to be Christian, democracy will be unbound, and the altar and the throne will fall together.

But no—I cannot believe that the faithful and true-hearted laity of the Church of England will rest under such a grievance as to be left in the hands of pastors who substitute Socinianism for Christianity, the sophistries of Mr. Maurice and Professors Jowett and Stanley for the Gospel of Christ.

If, as Professor Stanley preaches, “Christ’s religion is his morality,” then there was no need of his incarnation, no need of his sacrifice, no need that he should give his soul an offering for sin. But if he died that we might have eternal life, that the curse of the law might be averted from us, that we might have redemption, even the forgiveness of sins through his blood; then is the preaching of the Gospel a thing of infinite moment both to the teacher and to the taught. Let me confirm these words by the last and most touching testimony of that most humble and unostentatious but most benevolent and most learned of prelates, my first diocesan and ever-beloved and lamented friend, the late Bishop of Lincoln. His dying words will never be forgotten by those who knew how blameless his life and how deeply lamented amongst all ranks was his death: “I deserve nothing; I rely solely on the merits of my Saviour.” My Lord, the people of England must not be deprived of *his* consolation. They and we have nothing in the world to compare with this treasure, the only Saviour.

Of this treasure the *Essays and Reviews*, and all who advocate their pernicious peculiarities, would rob our faith. And because of this they have aroused the indignation of all good men. Neither can that indignation be satisfied until our horizon is cleared of these clouds, our Church of this teaching.

20. It is not a question of names, but of things, not of literary criticism, but of life and death, in which the public has been engaged by the appearance of that unhappy contribution to the literature of unbelief, the *Essays and Reviews*. I have treated of it as a part of a system, as one out of various efforts to change the face of religion amongst us, and to unchristianize the Church of England. Professor Stanley may deem such language uncalled for, but no words can be too strong for such an occasion. Your Lordship will feel, I am assured, one with the writer of these pages, in regard of the infinite importance of this conflict; a conflict in which lukewarmness is a greater crime, if possible, than the open aggression of unbelief.

Your Lordship has merited the thanks of the Church of England for your earnestness in her behalf, in the discussion to which this subject gave rise in the Upper House of Convocation.



In the University of Oxford you have lifted up your voice as became the chief pastor of that famous University and city. May your warnings be long effectual to those to whom they were addressed. There was a time when it would have been impossible for such a movement to have proceeded from an English University. But we live in an age of advancement, advancement for evil under the disguise of good; an age abounding in hollow professions and selfish rivalries, and godless boastings and high-minded speculations upon sacred things. There is everywhere a grasping at shadows, a thirst for novelty, a love of change, an impatience of restraint both moral and religious.

Yet are we not without some symptoms of a better state of feeling. Some there are whom the signs of the times have awakened to our dangers, and who are no longer inactive in the defence of that constitution and Church under which we have so long been so highly favoured by the Divine hand. For these I have written, and I will only add that my most earnest desire it is, that God may give his blessing to this work undertaken in the vindication of his truth and glorious name. And may he graciously guide your Lordship in all your labours, and aid you in every effort to maintain his cause so dishonourably violated by those to whom of all men it should have been most dear. Alas, that they should have stumbled on that stone which might have been their salvation. But the Church is built upon it; and standing upon it, we may fearlessly work the work of our God in life, and joyfully rest upon it, when after the evening has closed over us, we shall lie down in death. All glory to the Rock of our Salvation! Commending you and all who love his Name to him the everlasting Son of the Father,

I remain, my dear Lord,

With sincere regard, yours,

ARTHUR T. RUSSELL.

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